



PSYCHOANALYSIS AND CULTURE IN  
**WEIMAR REPUBLIC**  
**GERMANY** AND BEYOND

# Berlin

## psychoanalytic

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VERONIKA FUECHTNER

Berlin Psychoanalytic

**WEIMAR AND NOW: GERMAN CULTURAL CRITICISM**

Edward Dimendberg, Martin Jay, and Anton Kaes, General Editors

# Berlin Psychoanalytic

*Psychoanalysis and Culture in Weimar  
Republic Germany and Beyond*

Veronika Fuechtner



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*For Nikhil*



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# Introduction

## WHAT IS THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC?

This book recovers the vibrant cultural and intellectual history of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute (BPI) in the years between the end of World War I and the rise of the Third Reich and traces the BPI's worldwide impact on culture and psychoanalysis through its later development in 1940s Palestine and 1950s New York. It argues that Weimar Republic culture is inseparable from the psychoanalytic discourse on war neurosis, sexuality, and criminality specific to Berlin, and it connects paradigmatic movements, forms, and themes of Berlin modernism, such as Dada, multiperspectivity, and the urban experience, with the understanding of the psychoanalysis that was theorized and practiced at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. In four case studies, I pair writers and psychoanalysts whose correspondence exemplifies the interplay between theoretical discussion and cultural production that is distinctive to the psychoanalytic culture and context of Weimar Berlin, including the narration of war trauma, conceptions of gender, the psychoanalytic theorization of race and anti-Semitism, and the various commingling interpretations of psychoanalysis as a philosophy, a political mission, and part of the cultural avant-garde. I also claim the Berlin Psychoanalytic to be a crucial historical and theoretical moment in the development of Frankfurt School theory and for the development of psychoanalytic thought beyond Freud.

Clearly, the term *Berlin Psychoanalytic* itself warrants an explanation beyond the grammatical. It evokes the postwar American shorthand for psychoanalytic institutes as in “the New York Psychoanalytic” and thus anchors the term to the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute as its point of departure. But with the adjective *psychoanalytic* I intend to convey that this book addresses not only “psychoanalysis” but also a particular interdisciplinary network of intellectuals that included psychoanalysts, psychiatrists, sexual scientists, writers, artists, journalists, and figures who would have described themselves as all of the above—something that was not uncommon in 1920s Berlin. And it is the *Berlin Psychoanalytic* rather than the *Psychoanalytic Berlin* because I will make the case that this intellectual network is different from similar contemporary intellectual networks in other European cities, such as Vienna and London, and that the specific historical and intellectual situation of Weimar Berlin determined the theoretical synergy of this network. Moreover, as I will elaborate in the coming chapters, the Berlin Psychoanalytic is not a location (like *Psychoanalytic Berlin*) but a cultural practice that goes beyond the geographical and historical limits of Weimar Berlin. The Berlin Psychoanalytic thus honors the tension in psychoanalytic theory between, on the one hand, universality across time and space, and, on the other, change and adaptation specific to external circumstances.

The Berlin Psychoanalytic denotes a specific relationship between psychoanalysis and culture. This sort of relationship is familiar to us from the context of the Viennese fin de siècle, the London Bloomsbury group, and surrealist Paris. Berlin, however, has been strangely absent from the canonical narrative of psychoanalytic modernism. The moment that I call the Berlin Psychoanalytic produced mixed-genre works such as the literary psychoanalytic case study *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* (1924), by Alfred Döblin, and the didactic crime film on psychoanalysis *Secrets of a Soul* (1926), by G. W. Pabst. As part of the Berlin Psychoanalytic we see psychoanalysts involved in the popularization of psychoanalysis through film, literature, and journalism. We see them simultaneously involved in collaboration with other path-breaking institutions such as Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Science and the Association of Socialist Physicians. We also see artists involved in the institute shaping the psychoanalytic discourse side by side with clinicians. In Weimar Berlin, psychoanalysis was considered not only a new clinical theory but also a political mission and part of a cultural avant-garde. The Berlin Psychoanalytic offers a reminder of an unusual instance of conjunction between the sciences and the arts,

when psychoanalytic journals reviewed novels and novelists reviewed psychoanalytic congresses.

## WEIMAR, MON AMOUR?

Weimar Republic Berlin is frequently described as the site of a “relentlessly self-renewing modernity.”<sup>1</sup> The dynamic nature of Berlin in the 1920s, along with our retrospective knowledge that these years represent the last productive moment of German Jewish culture before the Holocaust, creates the danger of—as Peter Gay puts it—“sentimentalizing or sensationalizing” Weimar Republic culture.<sup>2</sup> With our knowledge of the devastation looming on the horizon, the dream of Weimar Berlin as a site of a “nostalgic counterculture” is powerful and continues to influence its literary and scholarly representations in the United States and Europe today.<sup>3</sup>

Jason Lutes’s 2001 cartoon novel about Berlin in the 1920s, *Berlin: City of Stones*, is a recent example of the collective imaginary of the secondary literature on Weimar Berlin that is available to U.S. audiences. Lutes’s book references famous historical images and canonical Berlin films, such as Wim Wenders’s *Wings of Desire* (1987), and picks up on themes such as inflation, political radicalization, the emergence of the New Woman, the beginnings of the gay rights movement, the contradictions of Jewish assimilation, urban consumerism, mass media, art movements such as New Subjectivity, and more to create a lost, at times violent, yet almost utopian site of cultural and political experimentation.

This kind of popular idealization of Weimar has been seriously challenged by scholarship on several fronts. First, it has been challenged with the argument that Weimar Republic modernism encompassed ideological contradictions and, in certain instances, embraced ideas that would not be perceived as progressive by today’s definition. As Weimar scholars Jost Hermand and Frank Trommler pointed out in the late 1980s, “the progressive heritage of this era was not spared” by its political and cultural contradictions.<sup>4</sup> In her most recent work on the pioneering sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, the historian Atina Grossmann describes the progression of an entire generation of scholars from euphoria to a more pessimistic and differentiated stance, for example in regard to the impact of the discourse of race and eugenics surrounding the Institute for Sexual Science (ISS).<sup>5</sup> To a similar end, the historian Jeffrey Herff coined the term *reactionary modernism* for the integration of an avant-garde relationship to technology into an antimodernist





FIGURE 1. War trauma in Jason Lutes, *Berlin: City of Stones* (2001). Courtesy of Jason Lutes.

romantic nationalism that continued to inform cultural and intellectual life in the Third Reich.

The emergence of psychoanalysis is closely connected to the cultural history of modernism. Its development reflects the complex relationship between modernism and fascism, not only in its moments of uprooting, disruption, and transformation in exile, but also in its strands of continuity and transformation under the Third Reich. Constructions of race and fantasies about Jews that populated the German imaginary well before 1933 also found their expression in the psychoanalytic movement. As I will elaborate, many figures involved in the movement, such as Georg Groddeck, defy categorization within today's political spectrum of progressive/conservative or left/right. In Groddeck's case, he was one of many psychoanalysts who subscribed at least in part to the eugenic and racial discourse of the early twentieth century. And while the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute was a center for leftist psychoanalytic thought, we need to remember that psychoanalysts such as Carl Müller-Braunschweig, Felix Boehm, and Harald Schultz-Hencke continued their careers successfully during the Third Reich. In these cases, the "progressive" emphasis on the individual's contribution to society could lead to a scenario in which psychoanalysts were able to sell their discipline to the National Socialists as a booster of social productivity.<sup>6</sup> Finally, despite its progressive and inclusive atmosphere, the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute was also an institution that contested lay analysis early on and that engineered the ultimate clinical orientation of psychoanalysis.

A second challenge to engaging with the complex history of Weimar Berlin is to escape the teleology of fascism that informs the analysis of continuities between Weimar Republic modernism and the Third Reich, most famously present in Siegfried Kracauer's seminal work on the Weimar Republic film *From Caligari to Hitler*. Recent works such as Anton Kaes's book on Fritz Lang's film *M* have pursued Weimar Berlin's past, rather than its future, and have emphasized the social and psychological impact of World War I rather than the inevitability of World War II. And after the reunification of the two Germanys in 1990, the past "moved closer to the present" as the newly fashioned "Berlin Republic" began to look on Weimar Berlin, rather than the West German state, as an immediate precursor for a unified German democracy.<sup>7</sup>

In regard to the history of psychoanalysis, we find contradictory narratives that proclaim the survival of psychoanalysis in the Third Reich and others that proclaim the disruption and death of psychoanalysis in

Germany under the National Socialists. We also find teleological models on both sides, for example in Arnold Zweig's idea that the psychoanalytic dissent of Harald Schultz-Hencke led directly to the politics of the Göring Institute. While I am aware of all these challenges, I strive in this book to maintain some of the original excitement for what Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg have termed the "laboratory of modernity."<sup>8</sup>

The Berlin Psychoanalytic conceptualizes a field that extends well beyond the four case studies I present. Though clusters of this field have been engaged productively, such as the intellectual impact of Otto Gross's work or the Pabst film *Secrets of a Soul*, the field is vast and includes works by psychoanalyst-writers such as Lou Andreas-Salomé, Hanns Sachs, Theodor Reik, and Alexander Mette, to name but a few, who are only supporting players in this book. It remains to be determined exactly how figures who have become the lenses of contemporary readings of Weimar culture—such as Walter Benjamin, whose brother was an active member of the Association of Socialist Physicians; Käthe Kollwitz, whose husband was one of the association's cofounders; and Else Lasker-Schüler, who commented on Magnus Hirschfeld's sexological work—were connected to this network of medicine, sexology, and psychoanalysis. While this book focuses primarily on literary figures, artists working in other media factor in to the Berlin Psychoanalytic: the artist Alfred Kubin, who was analyzed by Abraham; and Lucie Jessner, the wife of the theater director Fritz Jessner (brother of Leopold), who trained as an analyst at the BPI. Thinking about the convergence of these realms in terms of geographic locations such as the Romanisches Café, or in terms of publications such as the *Vossische Zeitung*, could also be a productive approach.

Many scholars have attempted to broaden the field of Weimar Republic studies by emphasizing the aesthetic and ideological continuities between Weimar culture in general and specific elements of popular culture, such as advertising and crime fiction, in an effort to challenge the image of Weimar's as high art or "outsider" culture. I am indebted to this work, and to the work in intellectual history that conceives of Weimar culture as connected to discussions and developments in the social and natural sciences, such as sexology, anthropology, and psychiatry. Literary criticism of canonical authors like Alfred Döblin and Richard Huelsenbeck tends to exclude their medical writings and therapeutic practice, thereby separating their applied psychology from their fictional representations of psychology. This separation has led

to understandings of their modernism that de-emphasize the pragmatic politics, socialist commitment, and theoretical sophistication of their medical work. Similarly, psychoanalysts such as Groddeck have rarely been looked at through a literary lens as modernist writers.

While my first chapter traces a specific intellectual agenda through Döblin's editing process, I do not subscribe to an interpretation based exclusively on author intent. As his novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* makes clear, texts are more multifaceted and complicated than their authors could ever mean them to be. Not to mention the author's unconscious, as the literary scholar Maria Tatar established through her argument that Döblin's recognition of social pathology in regard to gender did not prevent the presence of exculpatory "fables of female violence" in his text.<sup>9</sup>

When I began work on this book, I was surprised by how little literature is available about the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute during the years of the Weimar Republic. Relatively little has been written about its history, its theoretical context, and its analysts in either German or English scholarship. I also wondered why the historical influence of the BPI did not figure more prominently in the self-conception of American psychoanalysis today. After all, many of the most important theorists who influenced the development of psychoanalytic thought in the United States originally were trained and worked at the BPI, rather than in Freud's Vienna. Additionally, most American psychoanalytic institutes were jump-started by or received at least a significant boost from the Berlin émigrés of the 1930s. The current genealogy of psychoanalysis always leads back to Vienna, and this unidirectional genealogy needs to be reconsidered.

One of my first interviews for this book was with the German analyst and scholar Johannes Cremerius (1918–2002), who argued that, within the history of Freudian psychoanalysis, Berlin was the origin of dissent. Indeed, many analysts who later broke with Freud, including Melanie Klein, Karen Horney, and Erich Fromm, were trained in Berlin. Wilhelm Reich spent important and productive years there. Beyond Cremerius's argument, another factor is the fraught history of the integration of Freudian psychoanalysts into the National Socialist Göring Institute, which was not publicly acknowledged by the German psychoanalytic community until the occasion of the first German International Psychoanalytic Association (IPA) congress since the Third Reich, in Hamburg in 1985.<sup>10</sup>

While both psychoanalytic journals and scholarly studies now frequently discuss German psychoanalysis before and during the Third

Reich, there is still no historically comprehensive book-length critical intellectual study of the BPI in German or English. Since my book addresses the history of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, which is closely tied to this institutional history, I will sketch out a brief basic account.

## THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE

After meeting Sigmund Freud in Vienna, the psychiatrist Karl Abraham set out for Berlin in 1907 to make his living as the first German psychoanalyst. In August 1908, Abraham wrote to Freud: “Things are moving! On the 27th the Berlin Psycho-Analytic Society will meet for the first time. For the time being, the following gentlemen (all of them physicians) will take part: Hirschfeld, Iwan Bloch, Juliusburger, and Koerber (Chairman of the *Monistenbund* [Monistic Alliance]). I believe others will soon join in. Dr Juliusburger in particular is very keen; he is *Oberarzt* [senior staff physician] in a private institution and is introducing psychoanalysis in spite of his superior’s opposition.”<sup>11</sup> The list of attendees at this first gathering indicates the close connection between sexology and psychoanalysis in their mutual beginnings as highly contested new disciplines that grew out of psychiatry. Before World War I, psychoanalysis and sexology grew apart, with psychoanalysis focusing more on the psychological and sexology focusing more on the somatic manifestations of sexuality. However, they still can be described as “twin sciences,” since their development continues showing parallels in many aspects, from their push toward creating international networks to their internal secession movements.

The early history of the BPI is also linked closely to Berlin’s main psychiatric institutions, Charité, the Lankwitz Hospital, and the Urban Hospital, where many psychoanalysts trained and worked alongside sexologists like Heinrich Koerber, Otto Juliusburger, or Iwan Bloch, who were initially part of Abraham’s psychoanalytic circle.<sup>12</sup> Eugen Bleuler’s Zurich clinic, Burghölzli, where Abraham and Huelsenbeck worked before coming to Berlin, is another important institutional and theoretical source. However, as Hannah Decker and others have shown, psychoanalysis in Germany largely struggled against the prejudices and institutional boundaries of university psychiatry before World War I.<sup>13</sup>

The hunch that Abraham expressed in his letter to Freud was correct: what started out as a small discussion group of interested psychiatrists became the first psychoanalytic institute in Germany and the first German affiliate of the IPA. As one of the few historians of

psychoanalysis who provides a detailed overview of the theoretical and institutional development of the BPI, George Makari has described how Berlin very quickly became the “third hub” for psychoanalysis, next to Vienna and Zurich, and how, after Otto Rank’s and Sándor Ferenczi’s failed reform attempts in Vienna, the power to innovate psychoanalysis shifted to Berlin.<sup>14</sup> The BPI’s organizational structure and curriculum for analytical training became the model for psychoanalytic institutes worldwide, especially in the United States, where Berlin psychoanalysts who emigrated in the early 1930s sought to restructure the existing U.S. institutes that they joined on the tripartite Berlin model of education, research, and polyclinic.

In 1910, the still-small Berlin group was recognized by the International Psychoanalytic Association. During World War I, most of these early Berlin analysts worked as military doctors on the eastern front, including Max Eitingon, a Russian analyst and later director of the BPI who had joined Abraham’s group in 1909. Their successes with the psychoanalytic treatment of war neurosis gave the movement a boost of recognition. According to Abraham, Berlin was now “clamoring for psychoanalysis.”<sup>15</sup> On February 16, 1920, the Berlin psychoanalytic polyclinic opened with a flourish of modern art, including performances of art songs by Schönberg and Wolff and readings of Morgenstern poems. Ernst Simmel recited Rilke’s “Insanity” and read from short stories by Oscar A. H. Schmitz, an Abraham analysand and writer, who later analyzed Hermann von Keyserling.<sup>16</sup> Karl Abraham mused about “the rise of the polyclinic out of the unconscious.” The polyclinic of the BPI, which was financed by Eitingon and maintained by contributions from its own analysts, served as a psychoanalytic training facility and provided free treatment to a low-income population.

As the historian Otto Friedrich describes it, the opening of the institute on March 13, 1920, coincided with the turmoil of the Kapp Putsch, the emerging fascist movement’s first defining demonstration of power in Berlin. Just thirteen years later, many psychoanalysts would be forced into exile by the National Socialists, and some would be murdered. Friedrich describes Abraham’s opening lecture at the opening of the BPI as follows:

On the first day of the Kapp Putsch, in the middle of the general strike, a small group of enthusiasts gathered in a building on the Spichernstrasse to hear a lecture. The lecturer was Karl Abraham, a coolly self-contained man of forty-three, with closely cropped hair and a thick mustache, and though he had no explanation for the madness taking place in the streets of Berlin,

he did outline a new theory to explain the basic causes for irrational behavior. His talk was entitled “Elements of Psychoanalysis,” and Abraham, the first practicing psychoanalyst in Germany, was delivering the first lecture at the newly opened Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute.<sup>17</sup>

This seemingly coincidental convergence of psychoanalysis and politics remained a leitmotif for the Berlin Institute, which became a center for progressive psychoanalytic thought that attracted in particular the younger generation of psychoanalysts, who felt, as Wilhelm Reich stated, that they could “breathe more freely” in Berlin.<sup>18</sup> However, not all BPI analysts were leftists, and Reich’s and Simmel’s politics did not necessarily translate into institutional politics. In fact, Reich’s communist politics ultimately conflicted with the institutional politics of the BPI. Besides Reich, who was the founder of the Sexpol movement, the Berlin Institute attracted and trained figures such as Otto Fenichel, who later authored leftist emigration circulars; the Freud translators James and Alix Strachey; the writer-analyst Lou Andreas-Salomé; the theoretician of psychoanalytic pedagogy Siegfried Bernfeld; and the pioneering child analyst Paula Heimann.<sup>19</sup> Many of the analysts who received their training in Berlin went on to develop their own schools, including Melanie Klein, who deeply influenced British psychoanalysis and the field of child psychoanalysis; Karen Horney, who defined the field of female psychology in the United States; and Erich Fromm, who became a prominent figure in Frankfurt School theory and American ego-psychology.

Until his sudden death in 1926, Abraham was the leading theorist of the institute; and Max Eitingon was its financial backer, as well as its main administrator, until 1933. The lead training analysts were Simmel and the lay analyst Hanns Sachs, who was brought in from Vienna after World War I. The institute benefited from a continuous influx of Hungarian analysts like Sándor Radó and Franz Alexander, Russian analysts like Moshe Wulff and Anna Smeliansky, and Viennese analysts like Theodor Reik and Wilhelm Reich.

The BPI also had a formative influence on the intellectual life of the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute (FPI), the second German psychoanalytic institute, founded in 1929 by the Freud analysts Karl Landauer. Many of its members were trained by Berlin analysts such as Heinrich Meng, Erich Fromm, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and Clara Happel. The FPI shared rooms, staff, and students with the Institute for Social Research and was a crucial initial catalyst for Max Horkheimer’s and Theodor Adorno’s development of critical theory. Many of the FPI analysts were

able to emigrate to the United States or Switzerland to escape Nazi persecution, but Landauer was arrested in Holland, and he died in January 1945 in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp while trying to provide psychotherapeutic treatment to other inmates as long as he could.<sup>20</sup>

Among the traits that rendered the Berlin Institute unique in its time were its emphasis on the political and social implications of psychoanalysis, its application of psychoanalysis to fields such as law, pedagogy, and medicine (the institute ran professional seminars for lawyers, doctors, and priests), its desire to reach beyond the traditional bourgeois clientele with its polyclinic, and its strategy to popularize psychoanalysis through mass media. Hanns Sachs's *Psychoanalytic Love Rules* (1920), G.W. Pabst's film *Secrets of a Soul* (1926), and Paul Federn and Heinrich Meng's *Popular Psychoanalytic Handbook* (1928) are examples of this strategy, as well as of the institute's "open door" policy. The psychoanalyst Martin Grotjahn described the atmosphere of the BPI as very informal: "There was no official enrollment. Evening lectures were free to everyone who wanted to attend." The BPI represented only one of many psychotherapeutic schools that flourished and interacted at that time in Berlin; others included Adlerian psychoanalysis, Gestalt psychology, and early versions of dance and art therapy.<sup>21</sup> Many BPI psychoanalysts, like Ernst Simmel, Georg Groddeck, Karen Horney, Wilhelm Reich, and Harald Schultz-Hencke, were also active in the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy (Allgemeine Ärztliche Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie) and thus exchanged ideas with psychiatrists, sexologists, and psychotherapists of other schools.<sup>22</sup>

A heightened awareness of and interest in the surrounding social conditions of Berlin after World War I was expressed not only in theoretical works of this time. In some cases, analysts' commitments to social change translated into cross-memberships in other organizations or groups. By 1926, Ernst Simmel was simultaneously head of the German Psychoanalytic Society (DPG) and of the Association of Socialist Physicians (VSÄ). The so-called Kinderseminar was another important forum, where the political implications of psychoanalysis for leftist theory were debated. It had been initiated by Otto Fenichel, and it included other members of the second generation of psychoanalysts, such as Edith Jacobson, Wilhelm and Annie Reich, and the Bornstein sisters.<sup>23</sup> Helene Stöcker, temporarily a member in the early days of the institute, was at the forefront of the Weimar Republic Women's Movement and remained connected with the institute throughout the 1920s. The many overlapping members of the BPI and the Institute



for Sexual Science included the psychoanalysts Hanns Sachs and Carl Müller-Braunschweig, who also lectured at the ISS, and the ISS founder Magnus Hirschfeld, an early member of Abraham's reading circle that became the BPI. Through this network of institutions and personal affiliations, the institute participated in larger social debates, such as that on homosexuality, and, as I will elaborate, the institute's work was also perceived by other groups as part of a larger cultural network.

At the same time, psychoanalysis also became a fashionable topic for novels, poems, and films. In 1925, Sachs and Abraham wrote in a joint letter to Freud's inner circle in Vienna, London, and Budapest: "We can report from Germany that the discussion of psychoanalysis in newspapers and magazines doesn't rest. One finds it mentioned everywhere. Of course there is no lack of attacks. But without doubt the interest was never as strong as now."<sup>24</sup> In Yvan Goll's novel *Sodom Berlin* (1929), Nora Finkelstein, the wife of a wealthy real estate agent, starts an affair with her psychoanalyst, who falls for her because of her resemblance to his mother. Goll's biting commentary about the psychoanalysis craze: "As the new world religion psychoanalysis solemnly preached a lofty amorality. Everybody had the right, if not the duty, to investigate their own Ego, to pamper it like a rare flower and to find the reasons for any accident or discontent in the blind innocence of their own childhood, if not in the mother's breast."<sup>25</sup> The poet Erich Mühsam, who was part of Otto Gross's circle, poked fun at the "soul distorters." These "ghost whisperers" seek to explore the straight and crooked pathways of our minds and, after removing our inhibitions, just might end up getting kicked around themselves.<sup>26</sup>

In 1923, the German-American Film Union produced *The Movie of the Unconscious*, an educational feature that laid out the structure of the nervous system along with the concept of the unconscious and the mechanism of repression (it was developed by the neurologist Curt Thomalla and the sexologist and Hirschfeld collaborator Arthur Kronfeld).<sup>27</sup> The film was viewed with great skepticism by institutionalized psychoanalysis. The Berliners started to argue that, in order to control the public image of psychoanalysis, one had to get involved in this movie business. The abundance of what they perceived as misrepresentations of psychoanalytic theory in popular culture ultimately influenced what I previously described as the strategy of popularization.

In early 1933, the BPI began a period of largely self-imposed alignment with national socialist policy (*Gleichschaltung*), which in the

very beginning was sanctioned by Freud, and it led to the marginalization and exclusion of Jewish psychoanalysts by their own colleagues. Beginning in 1936, the non-Jewish psychoanalysts who remained at the BPI were forced to work alongside other psychotherapeutic schools under the umbrella of the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy. This institute was led by the Adlerian analyst and staunch National Socialist Matthias Göring, and thus was also called the Göring Institute. The work of the Göring Institute was classified as crucial to the war effort, and its analysts were able to continue their work well into the war, conducting military leadership trainings, researching war neurosis and the psychological effects of air raids, and providing psychological evaluations in trials concerning homosexuality. Felix Boehm, Carl Müller-Braunschweig, Werner Kemper, and Harald Schultz-Hencke were among the Göring Institute analysts who had worked at the BPI before the war.<sup>28</sup> Other analysts were active critics of the National Socialists, and several were punished for their subversive activities, including Edith Jacobson, who was arrested for her connections to the group *Neu Beginnen*, and the psychoanalyst John Rittmeister, who became involved in the resistance movement and was executed in 1943 for his work with the organization *Red Chapel*. Shortly before his death, Rittmeister wrote to his wife: “We can’t retreat into the desert or make the world a desert, but we have to shape our underlying, deepest being in the act of becoming, in our self-realization.”<sup>29</sup>

The institute was physically destroyed in April 1945 during the last days of the Battle of Berlin, but only a few months later it was reconstituted, based on Schultz-Hencke’s neopschoanalytic approach. In 1950, a group centered on Müller-Braunschweig broke away from the German Psychoanalytic Society (DPG) to found the German Psychoanalytic Association (DPV), which was shortly thereafter recognized by the IPA.<sup>30</sup> Because of Schultz-Hencke’s lingering dominance and the German Psychoanalytic Society’s perceived continuity with the Göring Institute, the Society was granted a special IPA membership only in 2001. Decades of feuding and competition between the two Freudian psychoanalytic institutes in Berlin have more recently given way to personal and institutional collaborations, resulting in the joint local organization in July 2007 of the first IPA congress in Berlin since the fall of the Third Reich, which was titled “Remembering, Repeating and Working Through.”

## BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC: A READING GUIDE

This book presents an intellectual and cultural history of the Berlin Psychoanalytic by means of four case studies, each of which examines literary and psychoanalytic texts together as both modernist texts and psychoanalytic interventions. The first two chapters address mainly the years before the subsumption of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute into the Göring Institute, and the concluding two shorter chapters are chiefly concerned with the emigration and exportation of the Berlin Psychoanalytic to Palestine and the United States after 1945. Chapters 1 and 3 deal with leading psychoanalysts of the BPI, Ernst Simmel and Max Eitingon, while the other two chapters discuss Georg Groddeck and Karen Horney, psychoanalysts who were considered outsiders or critics of the BPI and even Freudian psychoanalysis itself.

My original plan was to pair in each chapter a psychoanalyst and a cultural figure in order to present an exemplary dialogue. However, as in psychoanalysis, one party always seemed to talk more, or seemed to contribute more significant comments to the dialogue. And other figures always interfered, like Margarethe Müller, discussed in chapter 2, who also had interesting things to add. Because of these difficulties, each chapter is now structured around one main figure. Döblin, Groddeck, Zweig, and Huelsenbeck anchor the dialogues and their themes.

Chapter 1 focuses on the political connections of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, especially in regard to the discussion of war trauma after World War I. It follows the close intellectual and professional relationship between the writer Alfred Döblin and the preeminent BPI psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel, a fellow socialist, doctor, and German Jew. Analyzing various genres of text—from Döblin's unpublished patient books and his notes to his most famous novel, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*—I show how the psychoanalytic discourse on war neurosis, sexuality, and social misery specific to Berlin is reflected in Döblin's political psychology as it emerges in his fictional, essayistic, and medical work of the 1920s. Döblin developed radical new forms of narrating the soul, beyond the descriptive and introspective narratives of expressionist and fin de siècle literature. In their pathbreaking work for the psychoanalytic Marxism of the Frankfurt School, Simmel and Döblin both describe how a society at war invades the soul, and the soul itself becomes a battlefield for violent social forces. Simmel, a charismatic and influential figure at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, continued his work in exile in Southern California, where he collaborated with the Frankfurt School philosopher Max Horkheimer.

Chapter 2 addresses the philosophical dimension of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, the relationship between the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute and other regional psychoanalytic groups, and the process of the institutionalization of psychoanalysis in Germany. This chapter is based partly on unpublished correspondence between the self-declared “wild psychoanalyst” Georg Groddeck, the lay analyst Margarethe Müller, the philosopher Count Hermann von Keyserling, and other analysts, such as C.G. Jung. Groddeck, a traditionally trained physician, was the founding father of psychosomatic therapy and ran his own sanatorium—or, as he liked to say, Satanarium—in Baden-Baden. In an effort to popularize psychoanalysis, he published two successful psychoanalytic novels: *The Soul Searcher* and *The Book of the It*. Groddeck was closely associated with the BPI, as well as with Freud, who borrowed Groddeck’s term *it* in the development of his model of the ego and the id. Keyserling was well known to an even larger audience through his literary and philosophical travel books and ran his own teaching academy, the School of Wisdom, in Darmstadt, where he explored his interest in psychoanalysis, philosophy, and spirituality. Via Groddeck’s intellectual exchange with Keyserling and Müller, we can unravel Berlin’s role in streamlining psychoanalytic practice in the 1920s and the relation between Freud and the emerging regional psychoanalytic societies in Germany. Keyserling and Groddeck both emphasized that the organic and spiritual worlds are neglected yet crucial components of psychoanalytic theory, and both men attempted to describe the unconscious with Christian imagery. In their fantasies about Jews and their discussions of gender and sexuality, their writings also provide an example of the strange alliance of psychoanalytic thought and the eugenics movement preceding the Third Reich.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, Groddeck played a formative role in relation to psychoanalytic theoreticians such as Erich Fromm, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and Karen Horney, whose conception of femininity and subsequent critique of Freud took shape during her time at the BPI.

Chapter 3 focuses on the mostly unpublished psychoanalytic contributions of the writer Arnold Zweig, which were developed in his exchanges with former BPI analysts living in exile in Palestine after 1933. In reaction to the Nazi persecution and derision of psychoanalysis as a “Jewish science,” Zweig used psychoanalysis to explain the neurotic condition of exile and to frame Jewish-Arab, as well as Jewish-German, relations in terms of collective psychology. Traumatized during his experience in World War I, Zweig underwent long psychoanalytic

treatments in Berlin and in Haifa, which led to an intensive correspondence with Freud. Zweig's description of the "eye camera" that he directed into the past, and his deployment of narrative techniques that mirrored the spatial soul model of psychoanalysis and a politicized version of Freudian drive theory, were typical of the Berlin Psychoanalytic. While Zweig's writing did not challenge traditional narrative form to the extent that Döblin's innovative prose did, Zweig picked up strongly on the psychoanalytic discourse of religion, Zionism, and Jewishness. Zweig's main psychoanalytic interlocutors in Palestine were his analyst, Ilja Schalit, and Max Eitingon, the former director of the BPI who systematically established psychoanalytic societies in Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tel Aviv. In Palestine, Zweig developed a theory of the Nordic soul as conflicted, guilt-ridden, and self-censoring, and he portrayed German Jewry as the "rescuers of German talent." He also later championed a plan to reform Germans after World War II with the help of psychoanalytic kindergartens and reeducation programs, and became another connection to the ongoing project of psychoanalytic Marxism in exile.

Chapter 4 investigates the connection between the avant-garde and psychoanalysis and, with the example of Dadaist-psychoanalyst Richard Huelsenbeck, provides another type of ending to the story of the Berlin Psychoanalytic. When he attended lectures at the BPI in the 1920s, Huelsenbeck briefly encountered Karen Horney, who at that time was acquainted with the philosopher of urban life Georg Simmel and was immersed deeply in Berlin's cultural life. While an exile in New York, Huelsenbeck reconnected with Horney at the moment of her institutional break with Freudian psychoanalysis and became a collaborator in her newly founded American Institute for Psychoanalysis under the name of Charles Hulbeck. Later in life, Huelsenbeck turned to existential psychoanalysis.<sup>32</sup> In my analysis of Huelsenbeck's Dadaist novel *Doctor Billig at the End*, I argue that Dadaist modes of representing reality as fragmented and nonsensical are closely related to psychoanalytic conceptions of the unconscious. Many Dadaist experiments, such as those that treated sound as a primal and original language of the unconscious, reemerged in modernist novels such as Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. While in exile, Huelsenbeck rewrote the history of Dada as the history of an early existential movement. An examination of Huelsenbeck's psychoanalytic publications and manuscripts on art and psychoanalysis reveals the repetitions or revisions of the Berlin Psychoanalytic—for example, in Huelsenbeck's theories about sexuality and race. The irreconcilable divide that Huelsenbeck described between

his Dada life and his psychoanalytic practice also reflects how American psychoanalysis became part of the psychiatric establishment during World War II, and how a productive amalgamation between psychoanalysis and culture that defined cultural modernism—not only in Berlin—gave way to a more distinct separation between the arts, on the one side, and psychoanalytic science on the other.

Putting aside the idea of psychoanalysis as intellectual or cultural history, it is also a very personal matter. The personal history of analysts and patients became part of this book when such information served my argument or gave life to a setting, but I have omitted those intimate details that emerged in my archival work and interviews that would not have served either purpose. As I mentioned earlier, I strove not to sentimentalize. But in this book I also address the persecution, exile, and murder of Jewish and non-Jewish psychoanalysts during the Third Reich, which within the psychoanalytic profession is still considered to be a trauma passed from one analytic generation to the next, and so has an undeniable impact on the history of many institutes. It continues to take its emotional toll on the movement as a whole. In particular the experience of reading the archived correspondence between Zweig and Eitingon, which depicts the material and psychological hardship of exile, was heart-wrenching. While I tried to steer clear from nostalgia, I did allow some of this sadness into the book.

# Berlin Soulscapes

*Alfred Döblin Talks to Ernst Simmel*

The writer Alfred Döblin came into contact with the BPI and its members at a point when psychoanalysis was well on its way to transcending its disciplinary and institutional confines. As becomes manifest in Karl Abraham's letters to Freud, there was a "great enthusiasm" in the group after the end of World War I, and Berlin was ready for psychoanalysis.<sup>1</sup> At this juncture, Döblin took an active role in the BPI's project to implement psychoanalysis in other fields and thereby bring it to other audiences. As a result of his fruitful clinical and intellectual collaboration with the psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel and other members of the BPI, Alfred Döblin moved from a late-nineteenth-century psychiatric understanding of mental illness to a psychoanalytic conception of the soul. This development changed his medical practice and simultaneously drove his search for radical new forms of narration in his fiction. It also influenced the way in which he thought about the relationship between science and literature.

In his psychoanalytic case study *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, Döblin deploys a large scientific apparatus in the form of an appendix to the narration, which includes a summary of published reactions to the case, an analysis of the protagonists' handwriting, psychoanalytic interpretations of their dreams in prison, and a series of illustrations of their psychological development before and after the murder.<sup>2</sup> But this gigantic scientific effort is paired with a deep-seated skepticism as to its efficacy in capturing any kind of truth about the case, and ultimately Döblin

developed a model of fictional psychology that he deemed more successful at revealing the soul than the various scientific approaches that he at once construes and undermines.

#### ALFRED DÖBLIN AND THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC INSTITUTE

Born in 1878 in Stettin, Alfred Döblin studied medicine and psychiatry in Berlin and Freiburg and graduated with a dissertation on Korsakoff's psychosis, a memory disorder related to alcoholism. Despite his traditional psychiatric training, which had focused on the classification of diseases, diagnostics, and pharmacology and assumed a purely physiological basis for psychological processes, Döblin's dissertation also indicates a remarkable interest in exploring the psychological role language and personal history play in pathological conditions.<sup>3</sup> It investigates how memory works, how stories seem to emerge out of nothing, and how language functions in this context. As early as 1905, Döblin was fascinated by the idea of a link between the present and the past via the psychological existence of the past outside of our present consciousness.

After graduating from the University of Freiburg, Döblin worked as a psychiatrist in a series of large hospitals in southern Germany and in Berlin. Disillusioned, he later dismissed this period of "confinement in hospitals" as pure "diagnostics." He opened his own general and psychiatric practice in 1911, first in the more affluent western part of Berlin, then, in 1913, in the eastern part of the city, in the working-class neighborhood of Lichtenberg. In 1914, he started treating patients with psychoanalytical methods while also promoting psychoanalysis publicly, pointing out the significance of psychotherapy in the treatment of hysteria.<sup>4</sup>

Döblin spent the war years as a military doctor on the Western front, where—as he wrote—he fought the Battle of Verdun with his ears.<sup>5</sup> The very primitive and brutal treatment of war neurotics during and after World War I led many doctors in the field to reevaluate their approaches to the treatment of trauma. As the historians Andreas Killen and Paul Lerner have depicted, the shift from somatic to psychogenic theories of neurosis within the psychiatric profession was accompanied by its embrace of the Kaufmann method to influence and break the patient's will. The Kaufmann method involved a combination of brutal electric shock treatment and verbal suggestion.

Many psychoanalysts who later became part of the BPI experienced World War I as military physicians, and they opposed the radical



physical treatment of shell-shocked patients. Their successful experiments with the psychoanalytic method in the battlefield led to a period of support by medical officials from the Central Powers and gave the psychoanalytic movement a major boost of recognition. Moreover, the clinical study of war neurosis became the theoretical stepping-stone for the concept of the ego in psychoanalytic theory.<sup>6</sup> However, as Lerner has argued, psychoanalysis was presented with the dilemma that these successful treatments and the following recognition of its method ultimately served the war effort. Ernst Simmel and Karl Abraham both gave vivid accounts of the psychiatric treatments that Döblin encountered during his military service. As a military physician, a psychiatrist, and an early reader of psychoanalytic literature, Döblin must have followed the clinical discussions surrounding the treatment of war trauma in the war years. Disoriented by an uprooting war experience and distraught over the death of his sister in postwar street riots, Döblin moved back to Berlin in 1919 and began what he called a “training analysis” with Simmel.<sup>7</sup>

Together with Abraham and Hanns Sachs, Simmel was one of the leading figures of the BPI. Döblin’s encounter with him marked the beginning of Döblin’s own involvement with the institute, which would influence his medical work, his psychological conceptions, and his literary production. The fruitful connections between clinical theory and practice, political activism, and innovative fiction that resulted from his encounter with Simmel and the BPI would characterize Döblin’s work in the 1920s—the decade still perceived as the definitive moment of his writing.

Many previous studies have described Döblin’s writing during the 1920s as a continuation of an assumed antipsychological, prewar, expressionist stance, and thus have related his work to the detached style of New Subjectivity. While there have been studies on the inherent connections between Döblin’s work as a physician and his literary work, these studies, with a few notable exceptions (such as a study by Thomas Anz), confine themselves mostly to the psychiatric schools in which Döblin was trained, and do not account for his further intellectual development in what he considered his “real profession.” As his library and his book reviews show, Döblin was an avid reader in many fields, ranging from natural history to ethnography, and he was vehemently opposed to any kind of dogmatism. His reception of psychoanalysis was decidedly open-minded: he read Freud as well as Freud’s foes, like Adler and Jung, and he did not refrain from making fun of

what he perceived as the cultlike aspects of institutionalized Freudian psychoanalysis. He also challenged the psychoanalytic claim of original discovery and emphasized that the idea of the unconscious in psychoanalysis owed much to nineteenth-century literature and philosophy.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, the BPI offered Döblin an emerging institutional framework where he could connect his two professions—those of writer and physician. Moreover, he became part of an exciting theoretical moment in Berlin psychoanalysis: the convergence of psychoanalytic theory and communist and socialist theory in the works of Simmel, Wilhelm Reich, Otto Fenichel, and Erich Fromm. Because Döblin was familiar with the correlation between social and psychological misery from his medical work in the working-class neighborhood of Lichtenberg, he must have been intrigued by his encounter with this group of doctors dedicated to addressing the psychological vulnerability of the working poor and imbued with the idealism of a theory that was gaining international recognition.

Since Döblin's connections with the BPI are not usually included in accounts of his life and work, I will relate a few examples of his support for the goals and interests of the BPI, whose members perceived him as a colleague and collaborator. The psychoanalyst Heinrich Meng listed Döblin as a member of the BPI polyclinic's staff and mentioned that the two of them conducted a joint psychoanalysis, which, as he noted, was quite unusual. Meng later emigrated to Switzerland to escape Nazi persecution, but he and Döblin stayed in touch until Döblin's death in 1957.<sup>9</sup>

The BPI polyclinic was established in 1920 under the direction of Abraham, Eitingon, and Simmel.<sup>10</sup> Maintained by salary donations from the BPI psychoanalysts, the polyclinic provided free treatment for low-income patients.<sup>11</sup> The BPI regularly trained outside physicians in courses designed specifically to familiarize them with psychoanalytic treatment.<sup>12</sup> Since Döblin was training with Simmel and, as early as 1921, claimed to be "doing psychoanalysis," it is likely that these first courses were part of his training at the BPI, which later led to his practice in the polyclinic.<sup>13</sup>

In 1923, Döblin publicly praised the work of the polyclinic and described how most of the cases, ranging from neurasthenia to paralysis, were treated over the course of half a year in several sessions per week.<sup>14</sup> In his public statements, however, he omitted mention that the source of his intimate knowledge of this work was his own experience. Döblin was also familiar with the work of the psychoanalytic clinic Schloß Tegel, another clinic that Simmel directed, where up to thirty patients—primarily

neurotics and drug addicts—were treated in an idyllic setting, and where Freud himself stayed as a guest on his trips to Berlin.<sup>15</sup>

Like Meng and Simmel, Döblin was also a member of the Association of Socialist Physicians (Verein Sozialistischer Ärzte, or VSÄ) and was elected to represent the association in the professional chamber of doctors.<sup>16</sup> This forum for discussions on medicine, psychoanalysis, and socialism had been founded in 1913 by Simmel and the doctors Ignaz Zadek and Karl Kollwitz, the husband of the artist Käthe Kollwitz.<sup>17</sup> Simmel also coedited the association's official organ, the *Socialist Doctor*, where Döblin published an article against Germany's restrictive abortion laws.<sup>18</sup> Like Simmel and other BPI analysts, Döblin was also active in the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, which demonstrates his interest in a wide variety of psychotherapeutic approaches.

Döblin's involvement in the polyclinic, the VSÄ, and the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy indicates that he was attracted to psychoanalysis as a clinical discipline that offered him new techniques he could then incorporate into his medical practice. In 1922, Döblin reported from the Berlin convention of the International Psychoanalytic Association for the daily newspaper *Vossische Zeitung*. In this article he praised a talk by Simmel for its insistence on the clinical within psychoanalytic theory, thereby emphasizing his interest in the intersection of medicine and psychoanalysis.<sup>19</sup>

The patient books of Döblin's doctor's office at Frankfurter Allee 340 for the years 1923–1926 have survived and tell a fascinating story of the professional life for which Döblin is less known. His office hours were from 4 to 6 P.M. each afternoon. His patients—mostly unskilled laborers, factory workers, and railroad employees—came from the surrounding working-class neighborhood. Many had been sent by their employer's health insurance company for him to evaluate whether they were fit to return to work. Döblin often gave them extra time and described this particular form of “medicine of the working class” in terms of an unconventional solidarity with his proletarian patients.<sup>20</sup> In other descriptions of his own work, Döblin argues that the role of a doctor was inherently connected to the role of a therapist: “I am a doctor and yet, not just a doctor. There is nothing or almost nothing wrong with these people.” He goes on to describe a young man who came to his office for headache treatment, but the true source of his pain was a marriage crisis. Döblin suggested that the young man bring his wife to their next session.<sup>21</sup>

As a physician licensed by the state health insurance system (his stationary listed him as a “specialist in internal and nervous diseases”),

Döblin treated a wide range of psychological and physiological complaints: a long fall from a factory staircase, menopausal disturbances, stomach ulcers, and many cases of insomnia. The young Helene M. came to talk about her depression after her father killed himself, while Johanna H. came to Döblin pondering killing others. Onetime visitors were an “old psychotic” and another patient who had violently attacked the referring doctor, cases which give insight into the fact that Döblin was working in a neighborhood that we would describe today as a “social hotspot.”<sup>22</sup>

The frequent appearances of war trauma in Döblin’s patient records, along with the routine questions concerning war trauma in the health insurance questionnaires of the time, reflect the extent to which even in the mid-1920s Berlin still suffered from the psychological consequences of World War I. Döblin’s patient Alma S. had survived being buried alive and subsequently suffered from claustrophobia and insomnia. Karl W. had headaches as a result of a mine explosion during the war. Johann S. came first to complain of rheumatism, and then returned for long-term treatment for attacks of fear and war neurosis. These cases are just a few examples of the considerable number of male and female war neurotics whom Döblin treated during this time. He usually treated his neurotic patients in a series of meetings once or twice a week, some of them over the course of several years.<sup>23</sup> Thus, at the polyclinic as well as in his doctor’s office, he was directly involved with war neurosis, one of the main theoretical and clinical concerns of the BPI.

As far as Döblin’s therapeutic practices can be discerned, they were heavily influenced by psychoanalysis. Döblin perceived within himself a great sensitivity and ability to analyze the unconscious.<sup>24</sup> These qualities are also featured in a publicity photograph taken for the press: Döblin sits at his office desk, hunched forward with a concentrated expression, facing his wife, Erna Döblin, who poses as his patient.<sup>25</sup> Instead of sitting on the opposite side of the desk, which would have indicated the usual hierarchy between doctor and patient, she is sitting beside him and on the same side of his desk, suggesting a more equal relationship. Although Döblin’s desk is covered with books and a large array of intimidating medical instruments and medications, he is turned away from these icons of medical knowledge and faces his “patient” directly. Regardless of whether this staged arrangement was an accurate portrayal of his daily practice or not, the image conveys the manner in which Döblin wanted to be perceived as a doctor. It captures what stood at the foreground of his medical work: equal

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FIGURE 2. Alfred Döblin, patient book entry (1924). Döblin used either address books (like the one in this image) or simple black notebooks to keep his patient records. Only a part of the records from 1923 to 1926 have been preserved. Patients are listed alphabetically with the dates of their visits. On this page, one patient is diagnosed with “traumatic neurosis,” and two other patients are diagnosed with “war hysteria” and “war neurosis.” Döblin treated one of them, Otto J., over the course of several years. The regular weekly visits reflect the pattern of psychotherapeutic treatment. Courtesy of Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.



FIGURE 3. Alfred Döblin in his office with his wife, Erna Döblin, posing as his patient (1928). Courtesy of Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.

conversation with his patient. For Döblin, this constituted one of the attractions of psychoanalysis: “All soul work by doctor and patient requires showing your deck of cards. One speaks German, not Latin, and in every sense one has to speak plain German to each other. This is something democratic.”<sup>26</sup>

Döblin’s notes on a conversation with a female patient in 1921 provide a window on his therapeutic work. At first, Döblin took notes on the physical well-being of this patient and diagnosed a deterioration of her condition, especially evident in her backaches. He then proceeded to describe her dreams, after which he moved on to observations about her childhood: her love for her older brother, and the beatings she received for her stubbornness.<sup>27</sup> He finished with a comparison that his patient drew between him and another man: the excitement, the heart palpitations, that she felt “when she comes to the session” were exactly the same as in her meetings with “K.” In these notes, Döblin departed from a diagnosis of physical symptoms, progressed to an interpretation of dreams and the reflection of childhood events, and concluded with a situation of transference—a succession that corresponds very much to a typical setting in psychoanalytically oriented therapy both in 1921 and today.

The comparison of Döblin's clinical vocabulary with the classifications established by the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute shows that by the mid-1920s Döblin was operating with the diagnostic tools of psychoanalysis, for example, "epileptic neurosis"—a diagnosis informed by the contemporary psychoanalytic understanding of epilepsy as more than a purely biological affliction.<sup>28</sup> However, Döblin also departed from the mainstream analysis of his time and literally took poetic license with diagnoses such as "Grübelsucht" (something along the lines of a "brooding addiction")—for patients with a penchant for pondering things too much. As I will elaborate later in this chapter, this mixture of clinical, colloquial, and poetical language becomes an aesthetic principle in Döblin's literary descriptions of psychopathology in the 1920s. They often evoked the workings of the individual and the collective unconscious and, at the same time, undermined the idea of any authority of interpretation in matters of the mind.

Clearly, Döblin engaged deeply with psychoanalysis in his medical practice. However, he was also interested in psychoanalysis as a theory with ramifications not only for his medical profession but also for his general understanding of the relationship between the individual and society, as well as for his artistic goals and means of expression. The psychoanalyst Werner Kemper depicts Döblin as a member of the BPI's younger, more politicized circles, which frequently held heated discussions into the early morning hours at the Romanisches Café on theoretical issues of the day, such as the "conditioned reflex."<sup>29</sup>

Döblin followed closely the events in the psychoanalytic world and the public discourse on psychoanalysis. On occasion, he even intervened, as he did in the discussion of lay analysis, a crucial issue that affected how the BPI established itself as an international training institute. Döblin at first opposed lay analysis and, in 1923, voiced his concern that lay analysts would be rendered helpless in the face of many medical symptoms that might arise during treatment. But by 1926—the point at which the BPI established its training guidelines, and the discussion of lay analysis peaked—Döblin had reversed his opinion and favored lay analysis, citing Freud's article "The Question of Lay Analysis" in support of his view.<sup>30</sup> In 1925, Döblin alluded to the tragic case of Hermine Hugh-Hellmuth, a Viennese psychoanalyst murdered by her "object of research," while pondering the limits of psychoanalytic treatment. In the same year, his obituary for the Viennese neurologist Josef Breuer turned into a celebration of Freud, in which Breuer's merit was reduced to his brief period of collaboration with Freud on *Studies on Hysteria*.<sup>31</sup> If we

consider that, in an article on hysteria that he wrote before World War I, Döblin mentioned only Breuer as a source and omitted Freud completely, his obituary for Breuer is even more surprising. This inversion clearly highlights Döblin's theoretical development away from psychiatry and toward psychoanalysis during these years.

Döblin was familiar with the current publications of the International Psychoanalytic Press and with the most important psychoanalytic journals of the time: *Imago* and the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*.<sup>32</sup> He reviewed a broad spectrum of psychoanalytic literature and lectures, ranging from Freud's *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* to Sándor Ferenczi's *Theory of Genitality* to Melanie Klein's *The Psychoanalysis of Children*. Many of these reviews are brief and barely extend beyond a positive mention, but in particular his reviews of Freud's works engage more thoroughly with psychoanalytic theory. Similarly, Döblin's notes on psychoanalysis cover a broad spectrum of topics, including such tenets of psychoanalytic theory as the development of neuroses, dream interpretation, and the Oedipus complex. He also took notes on the history of psychoanalysis and Freud's biography, including short comparisons between Freud and Adler and Freud and Jung, observations that reveal a genuine effort on his part to consider non-Freudian approaches from the position of an independent-minded therapist and intellectual. This heterodoxy might also explain why, according to the available records, Döblin was never officially listed as a member of the German Psychoanalytic Society (DPG).<sup>33</sup>

Official or not, however, Döblin was very much a part of the BPI's activities, so much so that he gave the keynote address at the institute's celebration of Sigmund Freud's seventieth birthday, in 1926. In his warm and poetic speech, Döblin traced Freud's development from neurology to psychoanalysis, a description of Freud's life that mirrors Döblin's own path. He described Freud's defiance of medical tradition and his discovery of the doctor's simple look at the patient as an analytical instrument for the soul. He also spoke of the persistence of patients who made their doctors listen in new ways, thus attributing experiences to Freud that Döblin described as his own in other instances.

Döblin's speech at this celebration also took on a perspective specific to the Berlin psychoanalytic context when he addressed the critical question of why Freud did not translate his psychoanalytic insights into a theory of societal change or practical political work. Döblin answered the question by portraying Freud as a mistrustful pessimist. He came to a different conclusion about himself, however, seeing himself as



part of a force that, rather than wallowing in soulful lyricism, would fight against the remnants of a past, materialist age with a politicized, enlightening version of psychoanalysis: “The time for slackness and defeatism is definitely over.”<sup>34</sup> According to Döblin, Freud had paved the way, but it would still require a common effort to follow through. Nevertheless, Freud stood tall in Döblin’s eyes as a pathbreaking benefactor of humanity.

Döblin lobbied for Freud in private as well as in public.<sup>35</sup> When he was a member of the awarding committee of the 1930 Goethe Prize of the City of Frankfurt, his enthusiastic support played a key role in turning the vote in Freud’s favor. Döblin drew a link between Freud and Goethe in their emphasis of Apollonian rationality, which called for new moral attitudes, over the Dionysian chaos of the unconscious. In the committee session, Döblin described how he overcame his initial reluctance to accept psychoanalysis and presented himself as a “Psycho-Analyst.” He expressed his hope that the emerging science of psychoanalysis would become the means for the creation of a new man who could free himself from the current social and psychological misery.<sup>36</sup>

#### THE WAR IN THE MIND AND ON THE STREETS

Döblin’s psychoanalytic writing evokes the language and thought of his psychoanalytic mentor Ernst Simmel. Both biographies show interesting parallels that must have strengthened their intellectual connection: Döblin’s junior by only a few years, Simmel, too, moved to Berlin as a child from the Polish-speaking territories of the German Reich. Like Döblin, he also studied medicine in Berlin, came from a secularized Jewish family, was a fervent socialist, and chose Hollywood as his place of exile during the Third Reich, where for a time he lived only a few blocks from Döblin.<sup>37</sup> By all accounts, Simmel was a charismatic and social person, and he even makes a brief literary appearance as a party guest in Mynona’s Berlin novel *Grey Magic*.

Simmel’s and Döblin’s theoretical affinity is particularly evident in their descriptions of the polyclinic’s work and their understanding of the mutual conditioning of poverty and psychopathology. In 1930, Simmel described the motivations behind the opening of the polyclinic for low-income patients: “It was a daring enterprise in a time of economic ruin to bring to life an institute that should attempt to make psychoanalytical treatment accessible to those people who suffer especially hard from poverty due to their neurosis.”<sup>38</sup> In a 1923 newspaper article

praising the work of the polyclinic, Döblin similarly emphasized the mutual conditioning of mental and material misery as the motor of the psychoanalytic enterprise: "The establishment of similar institutes in all major cities . . . seems an urgent necessity to me. I would like to point out to all experienced [professionals] the misery of neurological treatment of the disadvantaged."<sup>39</sup>

Döblin's critique of the inefficiency of insurance-approved traditional treatments had a political dimension. As a provider for the public insurance network, Döblin could act as a mediator between the medical establishment and psychoanalysis, which was not yet subsidized by Germany's public health insurance. For Döblin, as for Simmel, psychoanalytic practice was a means both to liberate the individual and to implement a socialist vision of society. In a fashion strikingly similar to that of Simmel, who viewed the "psychoanalytic liberation" of the individual as "psychologically sanitizing" for society, Döblin described psychoanalysis as "soul drainage, an inner sewer system." Without this kind of sewer system, the massive social pressure underlying daily life in the city of Berlin could rise up in uncontrollable, dangerous ways.<sup>40</sup> Simmel and Döblin both viewed this volatile social pressure as a direct consequence of World War I and conceived of war neurosis as an expression of a deeper societal pathology.

In a 1919 article, "On the Psychoanalysis of War Neurosis," Simmel described the state of mind of the war neurotic. The article is based on Simmel's experiences in a military hospital in Posen, where he successfully treated war neurotics in only a few sessions of combined psychotherapy and hypnosis.<sup>41</sup> Simmel explained war neurosis as essentially a protective psychological mechanism that prevents war psychosis. The personality split in war neurosis is brought on by a repression of the traumatic war events. They resurface in debilitating physical symptoms that hint at their traumatic origin and thus present the psyche's unconscious attempt to heal itself. As one of many examples, Simmel relates the case of a soldier with a nervous facial tic. Hypnosis revealed that, while he was buried unconscious under debris at the front, he grimaced constantly to keep the sand from suffocating him by entering his nose and mouth.

Through years of military training, soldiers are prone to repress unpleasant events. In a military hierarchy, they experience a dramatic weakening of their personality complex (Simmel's early theoretical version of the ego), since the interests of others constantly overrule theirs.<sup>42</sup> With vivid poignancy, Simmel described the humiliation, self-negation, and violence the soldiers experience in combat:

One has to have experienced either the war events or their recapitulation in the analytic-cathartic hypnosis to understand what kind of assault the inner life of a person is subjected to, who has to return to the battlefield after recurrent injury, who has to be separated for an uncertain duration of time from his family during important family events, who is exposed without rescue to the murderous monster of a tank or the approach of a hostile wave of gas, who has been buried or injured by a grenade attack, who often lies for days and hours under bloody, ripped corpses of his friends, and last but not least whose sense of self has been gravely wounded by unjust, cruel superiors full of complexes, and who has to keep quiet and has to silently bear the pressure of the fact that he is worth nothing as an individual and is only an unessential part of the masses.<sup>43</sup>

Simmel argued that this submission to harmful situations against their own better judgment affected soldiers of lower military rank most dramatically. They were more exposed to humiliation, and they were less equipped to avert and treat a neurosis than were older, wealthier officers. Thus, the masses were especially vulnerable to war neurosis. Simmel built on this idea in his article “Psychoanalysis of the Masses” (1919), in which he argued that the war demanded the suspension of the basic tenets of common morality: that one should not kill, steal, or cheat. The war thus lifted morality from the border between the conscious and the unconscious and unleashed uninhibited primal drives that would continue to govern the people beyond wartime.<sup>44</sup> The war neurosis of the soldier had its equivalent in the peace neurosis of the proletariat, whose fight for sheer existence and recognition could be equally damaging psychologically. Simmel diagnosed “a diseased people,” which could be helped by economic compensation and the recognition of psychoanalysis by the medical establishment. This was—according to Simmel—a matter of social hygiene.

Döblin picked up on Simmel’s ideas two years later in a 1921 article, which Döblin titled with a direct quote of Simmel’s terminology: “The Diseased People.”<sup>45</sup> Like Simmel, Döblin emphasized the fundamental threat that war neurosis posed for the masses, comparing it to the scourge of tuberculosis. Thus, both saw war neurosis as a highly contagious disease afflicting the poor and connected this psychological phenomenon to the contemporary discourse of housing reform and of social hygiene.

While Simmel evoked the image of pleading, shaking, and paralyzed limbs forced toward the passersby whatever the weather, Döblin described his constant encounter with the neurotic “war walk.” The daily life of the war neurotic was a never-ending continuation of the

war. Döblin diagnosed an irreparable and potentially explosive “attrition of the lower masses.”<sup>46</sup> For Döblin, psychopathology was rooted in and enforced by material inequality and a capitalist economy: “The external circumstances have become soulless and take away the soul.” Both Simmel and Döblin criticized what they perceived as a change of morals in postwar society, which for Simmel manifested itself in an “unchained sexual drive,” and for Döblin in a “tendency toward excesses.”<sup>47</sup> The two also agreed that radical politics could be an expression of a connection between a pathological drive to power and an otherwise altruistic ideology like Spartakism. They saw these political and personal excesses, this badly directed surplus of energy, as indicators of the extent of the continuing psychological devastation of the war.

The two men both conceived of a collective soul, which becomes especially relevant in the context of war neurosis. Simmel used the term *Volkseele*, or “soul of the people.” While the soul of the diseased individual expresses war neurosis through the body, the diseased soul of the people expresses its war neurosis through its economy. A few years later, in his fictionalized psychoanalytic case study *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, Döblin employed the terms *Seelenmasse*, or “soul mass,” and *Gesamtorganismus*, or “collective organism,” to express the idea that individuals could not be described without consideration of their rooms, their houses, and their streets.<sup>48</sup> Souls are not discrete entities, but overlap with other souls and with their material surroundings. In his descriptions, the city became a soulscape, where individual pathology expressed a collective problem. As I note in the following section, Simmel’s war neurotics, their weakened egos seeking approval in violent acts, their personality splits, their flights from reality, and their militant political activism populated Döblin’s fiction of the 1920s, especially *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* and *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, the novel that made Döblin famous.

While psychoanalysis informed Döblin’s writing, Döblin himself saw the influence as potentially mutual and envisioned ways in which literature could shape psychoanalysis: “The other way around, it would benefit an analytic practitioner, if he concerned himself more without reserve with literature, and I think that literature might indeed influence psychological thought.”<sup>49</sup> Given Döblin’s practical and theoretical investment in psychoanalysis, and his explicit statement of literature’s potential impact, his literary works of this period could also be read as scientific interventions in the field of psychoanalysis. In fact, Döblin’s fictional account of a real case, *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, was

reviewed in the psychoanalytic journal *Imago* (as well as in the sexological publication *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*), and Döblin's attempt to find new visual forms of psychological representation was heavily criticized as "scientifically untenable."<sup>50</sup> The really interesting point about this judgment is that Döblin's text and illustrations were—because of his professional standing as a fellow physician and psychoanalyst—measured in terms of their scientific rather than their literary value, and that they were discussed in a context in which science and literature were perceived as related players in the field of psychopathology.

#### 'TWO GIRLFRIENDS COMMIT MURDER'

In 1924, Döblin's *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* (Die beiden Freundinnen und ihr Giftmord) appeared as the first volume in the series Society's Outsiders (Außenseiter der Gesellschaft), which had been conceived by the leftist writer and revolutionary activist Rudolf Leonhard for the small Berlin press Die Schmiede.<sup>51</sup> For each volume of this series Leonhard contracted authors such as Egon Erwin Kisch and Joseph Roth to render an account of a criminal case based on historical or contemporary juridical records. Döblin's contribution was based on the highly publicized and controversial Klein-Nebbe trial, which took place over the course of five days in March 1923. Two young women, Elli Klein and Margarethe Nebbe, were accused of murdering Klein's husband and plotting to kill Nebbe's husband. Nebbe's mother, Marie Riemer, was also tried for aiding in the crimes.

The newspaper accounts and bill of indictment reveal that the two young women were lovers, and that both of their marriages were unhappy. Elli Klein suffered substantial physical and psychological abuse by her husband. After making two unsuccessful attempts to leave him, Klein poisoned him continuously with arsenic. She took care of him over the course of his prolonged illness until he died in the hospital. After a tip by Elli Klein's mother-in-law, the police searched Klein's apartment and found, hidden under a mattress, about six hundred love letters that Klein and Nebbe had exchanged over the course of a few months. The women, who could see each other's apartments from their respective windows, had frequently exchanged letters, up to several times a day. The prosecution used these letters as evidence and quoted them extensively throughout the trial.

After a trial lasting five days, the jury came to a verdict: Elli Klein was found guilty of second-degree murder, taking into account the mitigating

circumstances revealed by the evidence of spousal abuse presented by the defense. Grete Nebbe was found guilty of aiding and abetting, and her mother was acquitted. Based on the jury's verdict, the judge sentenced Klein to four years of prison, but Nebbe was denied the benefit of mitigating circumstances, since she was perceived to be the more active and morally guilty of the two women, and was sentenced to eighteen months in a hard labor camp.<sup>52</sup> The jurors themselves viewed Nebbe's sentence as too harsh and appealed for a pardon, but it was not granted. The trial involved expert statements and discussions about homosexuality, marital violence, and above all the question of whether the women's circumstances or their genes were to blame for the events. It was prominently covered by all major newspapers, picked up by writers such as Joseph Roth and Robert Musil, and extensively discussed by the sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, who also gave an expert statement at the trial.<sup>53</sup>

The murder and the events surrounding it took place in the immediate neighborhood of Döblin's apartment and doctor's office—at Wagnerstrasse in Lichtenberg. Döblin was invited to observe the trial, and he had the opportunity to speak personally with the defendants.<sup>54</sup> He visited the places they inhabited and collected newspaper clippings about the case. His main source, however, was the women's letters contained in the bill of indictment.

At first glance, *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* appears to faithfully follow the account that emerged from Döblin's sources. Döblin changed the characters' real names only slightly, evoking the originals either in sound or meaning: Grete's last name, "Nebbe," became the similar sounding "Bende"; and "Riemer," the last name of Grete's mother, from the German for "strap," became "Schnürer," from the German verb meaning "to tie."<sup>55</sup> Döblin emphasized the social context, a leftist working-class environment, by renaming Klein, the murdered communist husband, "Link," a particularly meaningful replacement, as *link* in German means both "left" (as in "leftist politics") and "mean" (as in sadistic).

While *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* offers ample material for discussing the influence of Freudian or Adlerian psychoanalysis (as well as Hirschfeld's sexology) on Döblin in regard to his representation of homosexuality or of drive theory, I will focus on the issues specific to the context of Berlin psychoanalysis, mainly his representation of war neurosis.<sup>56</sup> To establish what I have termed the Berlin Psychoanalytic, I will also discuss the way in which Döblin's text not only reflects psychoanalytic theory but also attempts to contribute to it.

## WAR NEUROSIS AND SOLDIER TRAVESTY

“The pretty, blond Elli Link arrived in Berlin in 1918.” In this opening sentence of *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, World War I is subtly set up as the social background for Elli Link’s unfolding individual catastrophe. While nothing further is said about this date, it is worth noting that Döblin selects the year of German capitulation and revolutionary unrest in Berlin as the logical and chronological point of departure for this story, from which his narrator will jump back and forth in time. Elli belongs to the working class: we learn that she comes from a family of carpenters in Braunschweig, and that she apprenticed as a hairdresser. However, “a boyish prank happened to her”—she stole money from a customer, and subsequently she had to work for several weeks in an ammunition factory, before she could finish her apprenticeship with another hairdresser.<sup>57</sup> These few sentences contain the key issues Döblin develops in the book.

First is the loss of agency of his protagonists. Elli’s theft of money is presented as a prank that happened *to* her. Her “act” resembles more a reaction than an action, which is indicative for the mode in which the narrator presents his protagonists’ experiences. This agentless narrative mode points to the narrator’s difficulty in presenting a causal sequence for an action—something that the narrator ponders explicitly at the end of the book: “With the principle of causality one dresses up.”<sup>58</sup> According to the narrator, establishing a logical sequence of external causes for psychological mechanisms means construing causality after the fact. However, once these mechanisms are triggered, they are represented in the text as following a causal sequence: “Thus, bullets can hit us from the invisible, they can change us and we just notice the change, not the actual motor, that which is effective, the bullet; within us everything proceeds causally.”<sup>59</sup> Here, Döblin clearly picks up on Nietzsche’s metaphor of the cannon shot that reverses time, since one experiences first the effect, then the shot.<sup>60</sup> Both Nietzsche and Döblin argue that the unconscious renders a simple construction of cause and effect problematic. But, while Nietzsche stresses the deceiving quality of the inner world that would render any psychological account fictitious, Döblin opens the possibility of a different type of psychological knowledge and representation that would reflect the disorder of the unconscious on a formal level: “In this instance, disorder is a better type of knowledge than order.”<sup>61</sup> In *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, the bullets that hit the protagonists from the invisible and unleash a

tragedy are also an allusion to the psychological consequences of war violence.

A second key issue introduced in the opening lines is the change and ambiguity in gender roles: though Elli is a woman, her theft reads as a “boyish” prank (*Bubenstreich*). This switch of gender roles appears again later in the descriptions of Elli’s relationship with her neighbor Grete and in Elli’s incorporation of violence that the narration connotes as masculine. That Elli briefly works in an ammunition factory is another image that underscores the gender role reversal. Within a matter of weeks, Elli moves back and forth between two professional realms, hairdressing, a profession dominated by women (and concerned with femininity and appearance), and industrial production, which at this point in the war has become dominated by women because of the absence of men.<sup>62</sup> Elli’s move between these two spheres and her role as a male replacement enforce Elli’s gender ambiguity in the narration. Elli’s work on the home front also prefigures her role in the current of violence that *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* closely follows, and which starts, as mentioned above, with bullets hitting the protagonists out of nowhere. Elli produces the weapons that will come to hurt her, once her husband brings the war back home; she becomes a recurrent link in a chain of violence that has no beginning and no end.

The third and last of the key issues laid out in the opening paragraph is the corrosion of moral inhibitions after the war exemplified in Elli’s transgression of stealing, which the narrator plays down. All of these issues—loss of agency, gender role reversal, and a weakened collective superego—are related to World War I and its psychological destabilization of the collective state of mind, which Döblin and Simmel described a few years earlier in regard to the Berlin working class. Their analysis suggests that the lack of education or of access to resources plays a large role in these problems. Especially in Elli, the reader is confronted with a young woman who wants to leave a violent marriage and who, at the same time, wants to conform to her background and her family’s wishes. With nothing and nobody to guide her, this conflict spirals out of control.

Döblin continues to develop these key issues relating to World War I in subsequent passages of *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. Both of the husbands, Link and Bende, are war veterans. Grete and Willi Bende, an experienced former sergeant, courted through letters while he was a soldier. Their marriage was hasty and propelled by the circumstances of the war.<sup>63</sup> In his 1922 article “Neue Jugend,” Döblin described this



type of war marriage: “Even worse was the emergency marriage [Nottrauung], the war marriage. It was entered *en gros*, they knew each other barely three days, barely a week, but one had to leave to the ‘field,’ to an even more charged environment.”<sup>64</sup> He continued to paint a bleak picture—the men went to war, the women stayed at home and worked in ammunition factories. In the case of the Bendes, the awakening came upon his return from the war: he subdued his wife, cheated on her, and contracted a venereal disease. On the one hand, Willi Bende is characterized as a brash soldier; on the other, his masculinity has been weakened by the war. Dominant himself, he desires to be dominated, but Grete fails to provide him with “superiority.”<sup>65</sup>

The marriage of Link, whose first name we never learn, and Elli is equally doomed from the outset. The narrator’s characterization of the war veteran Link reflects the unconscious struggle of the war neurotic. The narrator describes Link’s relationship with Elli as an endlessly tormenting war that allows a “trembling peace” only briefly and leads mostly to new “acts of war.” Link’s perversion is presented as a “fruitless struggle within himself.”<sup>66</sup> Not unlike Willi Bende, Link craves domination to the point of self-negation. As the narrator points out, he seeks to be dominated by dominating his wife: “As he was presenting her with his old ways [his brutality], he subjected himself once again.” His drive to destroy others is inherently connected with his drive to destroy himself.<sup>67</sup> He beats, rapes, and tortures his wife, and in the aftermath he attempts to commit suicide. He also demeans himself by wanting to eat her feces. Link turns the violence he experienced at the front against himself and against the one who depends on him, the one at the lower end of what never ceased to be a chain of command.

One of Elli’s prison dreams revolves around this psychological constellation, and the narrator lets Elli Link recount the dream in the first person: “I was watching a white flag with a black eagle while smoking a cigarette. Accidentally, I burned a hole in it. I was court-martialed and got sentenced to work camp for life. I hanged myself out of desperation.”<sup>68</sup> The narrator interprets the dream as follows: “In this dream with the navy war flag, she also identified with the husband, who had been a sailor in the war, and she punished herself by suffering his fate.”<sup>69</sup> In Elli’s dream, her crime becomes a war crime, and the tribunal that she has to face, the Berlin court and the jury of Berliners, becomes a tribunal of a society at war. According to the narrator, the punishment meted out by this tribunal, the prison sentence, imprints the power of society and state on women, penetrating even their dreams with violence.

The sentence becomes part of the structural violence that the women were already subjected to by their husbands, especially Link: "Link wasn't dead, there was the executor of his testament; it was paid back to them [the women] with loneliness and waiting, Elli with the dreams."<sup>70</sup>

In her prison dreams, Elli is once again a victim of her husband's brutality, but she also comes to impersonate Link and reenact his traumatized existence. The dream interpretation suggests a connection between Link's war experience and his later violent and suicidal mental state. After attacking his wife, Link frequently tried to hang himself, and when his wife would find him and cut the rope in disgust, he would already be blue and gasping. The narrator suggests that his feeling of "unworthiness" led to Link's death, and that this war veteran's self-destructive inferiority and uncontrolled violence continued to spread and took over his wife beyond his death.<sup>71</sup> While in her dream Elli embodies Link and his psychological fate, she also trespasses on forbidden territory by damaging a war symbol, the navy flag, with her cigarette. The severity of her punishment shows that her crime in the dream also encompasses the transgression of gender roles, or what I call her "soldier travesty."

A very similar constellation of events occurs in another passage. In a survey of the secondary literature on this case, the narrator mentions a detail from a sexological study by Karl Besser, a collaborator of Magnus Hirschfeld at the Institute for Sexual Science. Besser reveals that, before her marriage, Elli Klein posed for a photograph dressed in the uniform of a soldier. While Besser interprets this as a sign of Elli's physiological virility, and thus her inherent homosexuality, the photograph gains a different dimension in Döblin's text.<sup>72</sup> It becomes an illustration for a general psychological constellation, an image of multiple levels of travesty in postwar gender relations. In the photograph taken before her marriage, Elli presents herself leading the idealized life of a man, the life of a soldier. The man she marries fought in World War I in the navy, but this former soldier turns out to be a broken man disturbed by the violence of the war and inclined to brutalize her. In return she kills him. The imagined life of a soldier clashes with its reality, and the violence practiced on a national level permeates the families. While Link wasn't killed in the war, he was certainly killed by its continuation at home.

As in the case of Willi Bende, whose sex is literally diseased, Döblin seems to tie the violence and sadism of the war veteran Link to a specific fragility of masculinity. In his notes to the unpublished essay "Civilization and Culture," Döblin mentions the blurring of gender distinctions by "masculinization" in the context of imperialism and nationalism.<sup>73</sup> *Two*

*Girlfriends Commit Murder* makes the argument that a masculinization of the social sphere led to a barely administered mode of pent-up violence that is ready to break out in the individual as well as in the social order.

The profile of war neurosis that Döblin and Simmel conceived in the early 1920s incorporated the socialist political discourse that both subscribed to at the time in its critique of the alienating conditions and lack of education among the working class. However, the two men also critiqued radical political activism as a potentially dangerous outlet of psychopathology, and this critique is featured in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. Ironically, Link is—as his name suggests—a radical leftist himself. But his political aspirations are presented as a flight from his private problems, rather than as an enlightening or liberating activity. When things become tumultuous at home, he runs off to political assemblies in bars, where he fills himself with alcohol and “radical political ideas.”<sup>74</sup> Shortly before Link dies from an arsenic overdose, Grete scoffs at his political affiliation as a communist: “Soon, if everything starts punctually, the magnificent celebration begins, and Mr. Communist marches out of this world.”<sup>75</sup> This quote suggests that for the women it did not matter which country or ideology Link marched for. Structural violence and militarism affected the very circles whose ideology stood in opposition to war. With the figure of Link, Döblin criticized what he perceived to be “the dictatorial wing of the workers,” which by 1930 he deemed militaristic, authoritarian, and ultimately too dogmatic: “Nowhere can the terrible effect and rigid domination of the centralistic tendency be seen as well as here, where the masses think like socialists, but they are led against the capitalist class in a single-minded fashion, which forces them into a warring spirit and an organizational mold, and they can’t help but become armies.”<sup>76</sup>

Instead of offering an enlightened way out, radical leftist politics can perpetuate the warlike state of the proletarian soul. Link becomes the poster boy for what Simmel and Döblin described as a postwar psychology of excess and moral deterioration, which can infuse even the noblest cause. While Simmel described the unleashing of the unconscious in terms of a primal energy, Döblin lent it a demonic quality: Link is driven by a terrible, rejected, disappointed, ravaging ghost.<sup>77</sup> In connecting this specific psychological constellation with the image of the undead, which could perpetually return (and which connects to other images of the undead in Weimar Republic culture, such as in Robert Wiene’s film *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*), Döblin emphasized that the situation was beyond control. In *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*,

the marriages of the Links and Bendes became prime examples of the ways in which the war haunted the private sphere and rendered it neurotic and perverse.

While Simmel certainly influenced Döblin, I argue that Döblin also influenced Simmel. The imagery that Döblin deployed in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* reemerged in Simmel's later work on war neurosis. During his exile in Hollywood, and influenced by World War II, Simmel returned to the topic of war neurosis and elaborated on his theory by drawing on the concept of the ego that Freud had been developing since the early 1920s. Simmel described the state of mind preceding neurosis as the "military ego." The soldier's superego was weakened and had been externalized: the superiors came to function as the superego. At the moment the superiors mistreated the soldier, he had to come to terms with betrayal, which was experienced as a betrayal within himself. The soldier fought not only for his nation and for his physical survival but also for the survival of his soul. The ego became a battlefield.<sup>78</sup>

#### THE SOUND OF WAR IN DÖBLIN'S 'BERLIN ALEXANDERPLATZ'

In 1927, Simmel argued for the necessity of closed psychoanalytic clinics such as Schloß Tegel, since a neurotic patient always represented just one link in a larger chain of collective neurosis, consisting of his family, friends, neighbors, and colleagues.<sup>79</sup> While individual psychoanalytic treatment could at times heal the whole "life circle" of the patient, Simmel doubted there was any chance for healing without isolation from the environment that (unconsciously) sustained the disease. Simmel's insistence on the intimate connection between the individual psyche and its surroundings was shared by Döblin, whose *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* emphasized the "symbiosis with the others and also with the apartments, houses, streets, squares."<sup>80</sup> Döblin's 1929 novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz* explores this symbiosis more radically in the formal as well as the thematic aspects of the narrative.

Since Döblin described psychoanalytic therapy as a necessary relief of the clogged-up sewer system of Berlin's collective unconscious, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* can be read as an unsettling descent into the depths of this psychological canalization. After the last installment of the novel was printed in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, an outraged reader expressed relief: "We have reason to hope that a deeper descent into the dirt of life is impossible. . . . If Döblin enjoys covering himself in shit, so he may,

and all those who are interested in this may buy the book (we're not overlooking the psychological aspect)."<sup>81</sup> This anonymous outburst, as well as the rebuke by the newspaper, which pointed out that there is as much "shit" to be found in readers' "bel-étages" as in Döblin's descriptions of the "*souterrain* of our social edifice," demonstrates just how much *Berlin Alexanderplatz* was understood by its contemporary readers as a very specific social critique.

The book depicts the dehumanizing effects of the capitalist economy and the deep connection between material and psychological misery that Döblin experienced every day in his medical practice, and which he understood as a call for political and professional action such as he had expressed in his earlier article "The Diseased People." After all, Döblin made the choice to delve into the psychology of the Elli Links and Franz Biberkopf's of his time, rather than that of the Clavdia Chauchats and Professor Corneliuses that populated Thomas Mann's novels during the same time. Making them the protagonists of his works became part of a psychological enterprise that Döblin himself understood as a *cultural* enterprise rooted in the specific theoretical and social moment of the BPI.<sup>82</sup>

*Berlin Alexanderplatz* opens with Franz Biberkopf's streetcar journey from the outskirts of the metropolis to Alexanderplatz, the center of Berlin. Biberkopf has just been released from prison, where he served time for killing his girlfriend Ida in a fit of rage. According to the narrator, Biberkopf firmly decides to lead a "decent" existence from now on, yet before long he rapes Ida's sister Minna, beats up his other girlfriends in jealous rage, and after a series of temporary jobs, gets involved with Pum's criminal gang. After a break-in with the gang, Biberkopf's main friend (and foe), Reinhold, shoves Biberkopf out of the getaway car, and Biberkopf loses his arm. Reinhold later murders Biberkopf's girlfriend Mieke during what he had presented as a romantic outing to the nearby countryside. The confirmation of Mieke's death leads to Biberkopf's mental breakdown and a stay in the psychiatric clinic Berlin-Buch. Once released from Berlin-Buch, Biberkopf returns to the center of Berlin, Alexanderplatz, to begin a new life, yet again.

The havoc that World War I continues to wreak in the minds and relationships of Berlin's working class is even more evident in 1929's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* than it was in 1924's *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. In *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, modern life is a war. The novel is replete with war stories, military ranks, marching, Biberkopf's "war walk," and the accompanying soundtrack, which includes march music

(*Tschingdaradada*), alarms, gunshots, and explosions, all of which come to stand for the dehumanized and dehumanizing violence that surrounds and floods Biberkopf. The sound *wumm wumm*, of the storm that brews over the forest after Mieke's death and pounds on both the walls of Berlin-Buch and Biberkopf's head, is the sound of destruction: "Attention, wumm, wumm, wumm, those are aircraft bombs."<sup>83</sup> World War I, the war of daily life, and the war inside Biberkopf's head are becoming one. And Biberkopf, despite being endowed with a name that means "beaver head," is unable to build dams against the outside world.

As the sound of war invades Biberkopf's head to the point of complete breakdown, it also invades human relationships in the world of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. Just before Biberkopf's nemesis, Reinhold, kills Mieke, Reinhold's loss of control and the unleashing of violence are described with the image of a cannonball's inevitability and destruction: "Then it breaks and it splinters and no storms or falling rocks can hold up against it, that which is ammunition from a cannon, a flying mine. That flies to the encounter, breaks through, pushes it aside, further, it goes further, further."<sup>84</sup> The image of the cannonball is reminiscent of the bullets from nowhere that strike Elli and the other protagonists in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. However, those bullets emanate from the invisible, and move from outside to the inside, while in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* there is no outside anymore. Semantically, the cannonball's origin is the German word *es*—literally "it," but also the term in Freud's writings translated to English as "id"—and it no longer seems to matter whether "es" is inside or outside. "Es" is self-perpetuating, there is no end to its path of destruction, the violence of which is forcefully hammered home by the repetition "further, further."

Violence lingers everywhere in the lines of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, ready to erupt at any second, even accidentally. In this world, a lover's fight, a walk in the woods, or a ride in the car can suddenly turn into a scene of uncontrolled violence—something else takes over and, once "es" is unleashed, there is no stopping it. Even though violence is described in terms of loss of control or a takeover of the pathological unconscious, it is the one moment experienced by the perpetrators as a recovery of control, an attempt to create peace. When Biberkopf beats Mieke in a fit of jealousy, her screaming mouth turns into a war zone, a bombed train station, a screaming wave that needs to be silenced: "Mieke's mouth ripped open, earthquake, lightening, thunder, the train tracks ripped apart, mangled, the train station, the station agent's booth upside down, roaring, rolling, fumes, smoke, darkness." The violent

images in Biberkopf's head are projected onto the world. The smoke of his own psychological war is obscuring his senses. In fighting this war, he is able to formulate his deepest desire of the instant: "I—will—kill—her."<sup>85</sup> The moment when he loses control is the moment when he claims his own fragmented speech. The war neurotic, whose self is constantly flooded with violent images and the speech of others, whose ego structure is weakened, and whose superego is externalized, comes into his own language when he does what he is supposed to do: kill.<sup>86</sup>

The war also takes over and marks Biberkopf's and Reinhold's bodies. The moment in which "es" takes over in Biberkopf reads like a psychoanalytic textbook case for a traumatic disorder: "He wants to let go of her, should I hit, Ida, the man from Breslau, now it's coming, his arm becomes paralyzed, it [or he] is paralyzed."<sup>87</sup> Biberkopf alternates between the desire to beat Mieze and the desire to let her go. Then his memories of his former girlfriend Ida, the discovery of her lover—"the man from Breslau"—and his subsequent murder of Ida are triggered, he feels "es" coming, and he experiences paralysis in the severed part of his body. Biberkopf not only displays the classic symptoms of war neurosis, but he is also presented by Reinhold as a "war invalid."<sup>88</sup>

Since Reinhold, who caused the amputation of Biberkopf's arm, describes his deed as a consequence of war, it is only fitting that Reinhold views himself as an instrument of war. Reinhold has a "painful" and "beautiful" anvil tattooed across his chest. When Mieze prompts him to explain it, he describes it as an image of his unapproachable and destructive self.<sup>89</sup> He sees himself as anvil and blacksmith at once: people lie down on him to get hurt by him. Reinhold is, ironically, the only character in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* with a clear, reflected, and articulate understanding of his role—he serves the war as much as he represents the war.

As in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, the structural violence in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is linked to masculinity. The women in Biberkopf's life—Ida, Minna, Cilly, and Mieze—are subjected to violence as both victims and accomplices. They see violence as an integral and unavoidable element of their relationships with men. The metaphors of victimization that Döblin himself sees as central to this novel are inextricably connected with the psychoanalytic discourse on war neurosis describing the pathology of a capitalist, postwar society. The famous "slaughterhouse scene" in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, in which the narrator meticulously describes the industrialized slaughter of a bull, is also its central metaphor: humans and animals die the same way.<sup>90</sup>

## RETURNING TO BERLIN-BUCH

Franz Biberkopf's stay in the psychiatric hospital Berlin-Buch, Döblin's workplace between 1906 and 1908, is one of the most important passages of the novel in regard to Döblin's commentary on contemporary psychiatric and psychoanalytic discourses of war neurosis. As in many other passages of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (and of *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*), the narrator speaks with the medical authority of the book's author.<sup>91</sup> The doctors who discuss Franz Biberkopf's case represent several stages of a medical career: the supervising doctor, the assistant, the medical student, and the intern. Much to his frustration, and despite his years of work, Döblin never rose beyond the status of assistant doctor at Berlin-Buch or in the Berlin city hospital Am Urban. Not surprisingly, therefore, the text's sympathies clearly lie with the young assistant doctors, and not with the head physician, whose ramblings, according to the text, only reflect the intellectual stagnation of a mind in early retirement rather than at work.<sup>92</sup>

Besides providing the satisfaction of minor literary revenge for his own professional stagnation within the hospital hierarchy, the clinical discussion of Biberkopf's case also reflects Döblin's intellectual development away from psychiatry and toward psychoanalysis. Two years before he published *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Döblin contrasted the mechanical diagnostic work of his years in large psychiatric institutions with his later work in Lichtenberg, where he visited his patients in their poor circumstances or where they brought their circumstances into his doctor's office: "I saw their situation, their milieu; everything merged into the social, the ethical and the political."<sup>93</sup> Döblin's position as a mediator between medicine and psychoanalysis, and his newfound understanding of therapeutic and medical practice as political commitment, are reflected in the clinical face-off between the head physician and his assistants. As a result of Biberkopf's complete refusal to engage with his doctors, two generations and two worlds—psychiatry and psychoanalysis—collide. The supervising physician claims that the only action this case demands is that they find the right diagnosis: "Which is, according to my own obviously outdated diagnostics, catatonic stupor."<sup>94</sup> The doctor's insertion of this unexpected insight regarding his own, completely outdated diagnostic system into his otherwise unironic speech also serves as a comment on the clinical system. While the younger doctors diagnose the stupor as a psychological condition, a "loss of touch with reality," their supervisor deems these "soul



moments” as “foolishness.” Sliding further and further into complete parody, the senior doctor insists on purely physiological reasons for Biberkopf’s condition. When he is confronted with the remark that such a diagnosis does not help the patient at all, he defends it with the following absurd logic, which reminds us of the logic of Kaufmannization: Biberkopf must be catatonic, because he is not simulating. If he were simulating the symptoms, he would have jumped at the opportunity to receive therapeutic treatment with the younger doctors rather than almost starving to death and being fed by force. He would pretend to be healed and disappear in a week. Diagnosing Biberkopf as catatonic actually helps the patient, the head physician concludes, since he won’t be bothered by the therapists, who pray for health, and who cannot wait to send another telegram to Freud in Vienna.<sup>95</sup>

While the text clearly sides with the younger doctors, Döblin mocks them as well, which reflects his criticism of what he considered speculative versions of psychoanalysis. The assistant doctors ponder administering slight electroshocks to stimulate Biberkopf’s speech organs, and for inspiration they helplessly leaf through the report of the latest Congress for Psychotherapy in Baden-Baden, a place which in psychoanalytic circles was associated with the “wild analyst” Georg Groddeck.<sup>96</sup> In Baden-Baden, Groddeck, the founder of psychosomatic medicine, combined therapeutic treatment with baths, massages, and other physical stimuli at his own specialized clinic. The “congress report” refers to the founding congress of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy in 1926. Döblin joined the Berlin branch of the society in 1928 with, among others, the sexologist Arthur Kronfeld and the psychoanalysts Karen Horney, Hans von Hattingberg, and Harald Schultz-Hencke. Considering Döblin’s awareness of Groddeck’s work (which I will return to in the following chapter), he seems to position the younger doctors between psychiatry and more physically oriented psychotherapeutic approaches.

In the doctors’ discussion, Döblin weaves together different contemporary positions on war neurosis. The head physician reminisces about the efficiency of the Kaufmann treatment during World War I, which unfortunately for him is now considered “modern torture.” The younger doctors, however, use warlike terms to engage with Biberkopf’s refusal to speak, desiring to have their own private “Locarno” with him.<sup>97</sup> This analogy between talk therapy and the 1925 peace treaty, in which Germany vowed to respect the western borders and the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland established by the Treaty of Versailles,

is telling. Biberkopf's own private war is connected to a breakdown of borders, which should remind us of Simmel's diagnosis of a breakdown of the borders between the conscious and the unconscious in a society still traumatized by World War I. Staying with the peace treaty analogy, therapy could function as a "peace treatment."

In accordance with psychoanalytic theories of war neurosis, the younger doctors diagnose Biberkopf's stupor as a complete psychological regression, "a return to the most ancient stages of the soul."<sup>98</sup> The narrator includes this diagnosis in his description of Biberkopf's soul as something that is regressing and wandering, as something that reaches back into the animal stage and joins the "gray mice" that live in the walls—the border between the inside and the outside, and metaphorically the border between the conscious and the unconscious.<sup>99</sup> The gray mice ask Biberkopf what makes him sad, and they discover that it is not easy for Biberkopf to talk. They urge him to put an end to all this, because the human is such an ugly animal and the enemy of all enemies.

Biberkopf continues to regress until he leaves his "human body" to join the mice: "The mice are running, Franz is a field mouse and digs along. . . . What was an animal inside him is running on the field."<sup>100</sup> This imagery contains connotations of both a regression to a prehuman stage and a battlefield scenario: digging tunnels and running with a group of gray mice (the color of German soldiers' uniforms) through a "field" is a poignant image evocative of the front during World War I.

As Biberkopf runs and digs his way through the field, his mind returns to the trenches. In this imagery, he becomes victim and perpetrator at the same time. In the company of the mice, he becomes a victim of humankind, "the enemy of enemies." At the same time, the war turns Biberkopf into an animal, which metaphorically stands in for the unleashing of primal drives. In his regression, his mind revisits and relives the battlefield, but this regression also enables him to heal on his own. "Franz's soul returns its plant seeds. . . . Franz has many seeds in himself, everyday he blows out of the house and spreads new seeds."<sup>101</sup>

The passage on Berlin-Buch is one of many passages in which Döblin conceives of Biberkopf's pathology as a state of war, and in which he evokes the military ego described by Simmel and Abraham. As Biberkopf fights for his sanity and his survival, he encounters Death, who has started singing his "slow, slow song." Death tells Biberkopf in a heavy Berlin dialect that he has lost the war.<sup>102</sup> The old Biberkopf dies, and another one-armed man, "who has the same papers," starts a new life. This new Biberkopf resists the temptation to march along with

the forces left and right of him, since he has to “pay with my head.”<sup>103</sup> Rather than perpetuating the language of war, which was once the only language he could claim as his own, he finds a different, reflective voice, which might guide him in the future: “If there’s war, and they draft me, and I don’t know why, and the war happens even without me, then it’s still my fault, and whatever happens to me is justified.”<sup>104</sup> The new Biberkopf questions his old notion of fate, which had led him to remain passive and to reject responsibility. Fate has to be “recognized, touched and destroyed,” and above all Biberkopf needs to remain alert.

The final lines of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, which describe the march of hundreds into war, have often been interpreted as a prefiguration of fascism. If we consider that, like Simmel, Döblin saw military spirit and pathological structures in different kinds of political activism, Biberkopf’s marching steps—left and right—could encompass the right wing as well as the left wing of the political spectrum. While this last passage implies a social critique of a pervasive militarism in society and extreme forms of political activism in the masses, it also contains a moment of identification: “On to freedom, into freedom, the old world has to tumble, wake up, new morning air.”<sup>105</sup> This battle cry could be read, on the one hand, as an eerily precise comment on the discrepancy in political mass movements between the rhetoric of freedom and new beginnings, and the practice of repressive uniformity. On the other hand it also captures Biberkopf’s individual awakening and his new-found sense of freedom.<sup>106</sup>

While the narrator claims to tell the story of a development, a psychological narrative, the text does not substantiate this claim. As Döblin himself conceded, the ending seems to be wishful thinking more than narrative necessity. *Berlin Alexanderplatz* can be read as a walk through a mind traumatized by actual and imagined wars with an unlikely and ironic happy—not haunted—therapeutic ending.

#### TOWARD NEW FORMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL NARRATION I: SCIENCE, FICTION, AND THE COLLOQUIAL

In both *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* and *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Döblin works with psychoanalytic models of psychopathology. His depictions of the impact of World War I on Berlin’s working class, as well as his renderings of the symptoms and mechanisms of war neurosis, demonstrate how closely he adhered to Simmel’s theory and

practice and the overarching context of the BPI. However, it would be an injustice to the depth and complexity of Döblin's writing to simply trace an influence of Berlin psychoanalysis in his works. Döblin's texts can also be read as a scientific intervention. Beyond commenting on current psychoanalytic debates, his texts attempt to find new literary representations of psychology.

Döblin's harsh criticism of certain types of literary psychology has been used to support the argument that his works of the 1920s are anti-psychological in their narrative form. The 1913 literary manifesto *Berliner Programm*, in which Döblin called for a "depersonalization" of literature, has been used as an interpretative frame for discussing both his early short stories and *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, which was published more than fifteen years later, but which still often retains the "expressionistic" label.<sup>107</sup> The combination of stream-of-consciousness narration and multiple narrators in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is overwhelmingly described as cinematic by its critics. While the novel incorporates cinematic techniques (and has in turn influenced many films), I see these narrative forms as a function of Döblin's changed agenda in regard to understanding and representing psychology, rather than solely as a reflection of Döblin's fascination for the new mass medium of film. Therefore, I return to *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* and *Berlin Alexanderplatz* with two questions: In which way do these two literary works develop new forms of literary representation of psychology? And how do they comment on and contribute to Berlin psychoanalysis?

In contrast to most anamnestic literature of his time, Döblin's clinical case studies of the first two decades of the twentieth century feature quotations from the patients' speech and minute attention to their language. In his 1908 study on melancholia, for example, Döblin takes great care to describe the patient's facial expressions and gestures and lets them speak for themselves. Brief moments of lucidity ("I don't know why I speak so much"), paranoia ("ready for slaughter"), and the suppression of sexual desire—in Döblin's words "fantasies of sinning" ("Forgive me for touching down there")—find their way into the clinical text as direct quotes.<sup>108</sup> This strategy hints at the importance that the patient's narrative will acquire in Döblin's later work as a therapist, and it foreshadows the empathy with which Döblin portrays fictionalized accounts of mental afflictions.

As in his earlier clinical case studies, Döblin provides ample room for direct speech in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, in this case literal quotations from the women's love letters. However, this time Döblin's

careful editing of the women's voices reinvents the "voice of the people": simple proverbs become psychological metaphors, and daily routines mirror complicated psychological processes. Considering the fact that the psychiatric tradition in which Döblin trained was based on the assumption of neutral observation and the presumably objective description of what is visible, Döblin's fusion of observation with a subjective literary stance is provocative. His move to what could be called "clinical fiction" is one of many examples of his progression from Freiburg psychiatry toward Berlin psychoanalysis.

*Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* features an impressive scientific apparatus informed by psychoanalysis, graphology, and sexual science, but this abundance of science fails when the narrative perspective suddenly changes at the very end of the book. While the body of the story is told in the style of a scientific case study from the perspective of an omniscient narrator, the first sentence of the epilogue introduces the voice of the narrator in the first person: "If I survey the whole thing, then it is like a story: 'then came the wind and uprooted the tree.' But I don't know what kind of wind this was and where it came from."<sup>109</sup> At the moment the narrator's subjective stance is introduced, the validity of the omniscient perspective in the book thus far is questioned. It is made uncertain on a formal level, since the sudden narrative of experience undermines the narrative of science, but also on the level of content: the voice of the narrator actually claims that psychological causality is construed. Ultimately, attempts to create a coherent narrative out of psychological events result in fiction: "Most interpretations of the soul are novels." While this epilogue has been read as a rejection of psychology in general, it does not refute *psychology* as such. What the epilogue refutes is the scientific claims of psychology—for example, in comparison to the "clean" methods of general chemistry. Deploying a descriptive, scientific terminology does not imply knowing or understanding, and at times it even inhibits understanding, according to the narrator, who simply wanted to show the difficulties of the case rather than provide an evaluation. While the narrator carries the scientific approach to a point of failure, he seems to assert an understanding "on a certain level." This understanding results only partly from an analysis of "instincts" and "motors" of action.<sup>110</sup> I argue that the possible level of understanding is a result of the alternative psychological model developed within Döblin's writing. A new kind of psychological fiction emerges from the narrator's many failed attempts to explain a case using the vocabulary and scope of science.

In shaping the protagonists' voices, Döblin borrows extensively from the women's letters that the state's attorney cited as evidence in his indictment. At first sight, the quotations appear to be literal, but Döblin has in fact carefully edited them and at times subtly changed their context. These changes serve primarily to create an understanding of, if not sympathy for, the women's conflicted feelings and their actions. But more significantly, these small changes also shape a new literary psychological language that relies on metaphors rather than metacommentary. In the following I present some of Döblin's editing strategies and the purposes they serve.

In a passage that depicts Elli Link's conflicting emotions while she is poisoning her husband, Döblin starts by paraphrasing from one of Elli Klein's letters. The original quotation reads: "Want to sleep, for I am so tired, unfortunately Klein walks back and forth in the room in his fever, crawls up the walls, it's terrible to see, it doesn't move me much, but it's a terrible image."<sup>111</sup> In his fictionalized account, Döblin, however, gives the image a completely different frame: "Elli saw the terrible image of the sick husband, how he walked up and down in the room in his fever, crawled up the walls in his pain. She suffered cruelly."<sup>112</sup> While Elli Klein claimed that she was not affected much by her husband's agony, Döblin's Elli Link suffers "cruelly" from her husband's agony. In her trial, the state's attorney had presented this quotation as evidence of Elli Klein's coldheartedness and disdain for her husband, but Döblin reads Elli's letter in the context of a letter to a jealous lover (Grete) who is mistrustful of any positive feelings that Elli might still have for her husband: "The sharp, all too sharp eye of her girlfriend saw some of this. If Elli wasn't in love with her husband[?] No, no, she replied, reluctantly."<sup>113</sup> This earlier exchange is mentioned briefly in the bill of indictment, but the state's attorney takes Elli Klein's assertions to Grete Nebbe that she is not in love with her husband anymore at face value and includes it as part of the prosecution's argument that Elli killed her husband in cold blood.

In order to further emphasize the psychological conflict within Elli Link, Döblin contrasts her fear of punishment with a drastic expression of her deep-seated hatred for her husband. Elli Klein's original letter was introduced by the state's attorney as one of the many examples in which she insults him "in the most ugly fashion": "The pig is so resistant, today I gave him drops, but lots, so he had such heart trouble again and had to apply compresses, but didn't put them on the heart, but under his arm, he didn't notice it."<sup>114</sup> The first part of the sentence

is underlined with red crayon in Döblin's copy, like many of the key images employed by the women in their letters that Döblin decides to use in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. On the surface, his fictionalized account contains only slight changes: "If the pig would only croak soon. The pig is so resistant. Today I gave him drops, but lots. So suddenly he had such heart trouble and I had to apply compresses. But I didn't put them on the heart, but under his arm, he didn't notice."<sup>115</sup>

The first sentence of Döblin's version is a direct quotation that he borrowed from a different letter between Elli and Grete: "Now he drank soup, where I really gave it to him, if this pig would only croak."<sup>116</sup> The last part of the sentence that Döblin decided to quote is underlined in red. The bill of indictment also cites other passages of the letters that refer to Klein as a pig. Döblin underlined another sentence in his copy of the bill, but decided not to include it in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*: "If only this pig would fulfill my wish and shut his keister forever."<sup>117</sup> The pig images that recur in several of the original letters are concentrated into one fictional letter. Employing it twice in a row instead of once, as in the original, Döblin emphasizes the image within the letter he creates. At the same time he leaves out the most vulgar image of the original letters, the image that banalizes the poisoning the most: the wish that this pig should forever "shut his keister." This selection reveals Döblin's agenda in the presentation of his character Elli Link. Döblin tones down her vulgarity and omits details that might negatively affect his readers' sympathies (e.g., Elli's alleged unfaithfulness during her marriage, which is mentioned in the original bill of indictment).<sup>118</sup>

Döblin frames his pig quotation as one of the rare moments of "cynical release" for Elli Link, an eruption of "animalistic insouciance."<sup>119</sup> The changes he makes are small but significant. The heart palpitations appear "suddenly" and not "again" as in the original, emphasizing the unique drama of the situation rather than presenting it as a recurring scene within a long and calculated scheme. The way in which he edits, contrasts, and frames the quotation supports his intent to portray Elli as a complicated and conflicted character, not as a heartless murderer. He also changes Elli Klein's punctuation and includes more pauses between the sentences, which increases the sense of drama and separates out what he perceived as conflicting emotions: the hate ("the pig"), the fear ("suddenly . . . such heart trouble"), and the reassuring response to her lover's jealousy ("didn't put it on the heart"). In this instance Döblin's editing serves to present an unconscious psychological conflict.

The back-and-forth between strong feelings, and the force of repression depicted in this passage, are a textbook illustration of the violent forces of the unconscious described by Simmel and Freud.

Döblin also contrasts one emotion with the other by turning sentence particles into complete sentences. And he occasionally picks one sentence out of the original letters that sums up the emotion or intention of an action. In her original correspondence with Grete Nebbe, Elli Klein wrote a long letter to express her conflicting feelings about the ongoing poisoning of her husband: “Why doesn’t it go faster, but he is of such healthy nature, otherwise he wouldn’t be any more, dearest Gretchen, I never humiliated myself so much like yesterday evening, how I pleaded with him to stay with me, I would take care of him. Hopefully I succeed in keeping him at home, otherwise I am lost, and if Klein finds out that he has been poisoned, I am lost without charity or mercy.”<sup>120</sup>

Döblin paraphrases parts of this letter following the pig passage and its drastic expressions of hate. He quotes only the last sentence literally—after carefully prefacing it with a comment: “On some days she could not contain her feelings of guilt and inner torture. Then she lay before him and pleaded with him to stay with her, she would take care of him. Then she was again the wife, the child from a Braunschweig family, and the man was the one her father had given her. The fear of punishment: ‘If Link finds out that he has been poisoned, I am lost without charity or mercy.’”<sup>121</sup> The sentence that Döblin quotes directly from the original emphasizes her expression of her fears. In this instance his editing once again presents Elli Link’s complex motivations and emotions, and not her allegedly criminal intent. The paragraph began with the image of Link going up the walls out of pain, moved on to Elli expressing her disdain, and closed with her fear of Link. As further evidence that Döblin edited Elli’s letters in such a way as to separate, and heighten the contrasts between her emotions, Döblin closes with an original quotation from Elli that supports his understanding of her situation and encourages the reader to take sides. Once her words have been stripped and rearranged, the voice that appears in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* is not the voice of a murderer: it is the voice of desperation and victimization.

This is one goal of Döblin’s editing strategies: to shape an image of Elli Link that is fundamentally different from the state’s attorney’s evaluation of Elli Klein. His editing shapes the women’s voices in a way that supports his agenda in regard to the social and psychological dimension of the Klein-Nebbe case. His other goal is closely linked to this first one.



When we compare the bill of indictment with *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, it becomes apparent that Döblin decided to quote especially the passages in which the women employ metaphorical language. Some of these metaphors are colloquial or downright vulgar, as in the case of Klein's depiction as a pig. Making them part of the women's fictional voices illustrates their social background. But Döblin goes further.

The metaphors that Döblin emphasizes in his narration use the women's voices to create an alternative psychological model that differs distinctly from the scientific psychology he proposed in his commentary. Döblin constructs this psychological model out of the uneducated—at times sentimental, and at times vulgar—vernacular that he encounters in the two women's letters. It is in Döblin's reading and recasting that the women's metaphors evoke what could be called a *Volkspsychologie*, or a psychology of the people, based on their language, the *Volksmund*.

As already mentioned in regard to the pig metaphor, these images stand for distinct emotions that are then contrasted with still others to create the impression of a turbulent psychological conflict. They can also illustrate the character and intensity of a particular relationship. Margarethe Nebbe writes to Elli Klein how much she loves her and uses the following metaphor: "since only you know that I cling to you like a limpet." This passage is underlined, and Döblin quotes it literally in his own version.<sup>122</sup> This expression becomes more than a popular commonplace for a love relationship. Using Nebbe's words, Döblin describes here a destructive psychological dependency. He follows this quotation with a description of Bende's passion for Elli that goes beyond pride, and equips Elli Link with an insight into its problematic sources, one that cannot be found in the court material: "Also Bende was not good. Yes, Link and Bende, Elli sensed vaguely, belonged together. Bende pushed and courted her like Link had courted her; both disappointed, staggering, love-hungry."<sup>123</sup>

While Döblin endows Elli with the notion that Bende's passion springs as much from weakness and neediness as Link's destructive passion did, he also lets the reader know that her own passion is not the result of love for Grete, but rather of extreme psychological circumstances: "She loved Bende as a fugitive loves his hideout or his weapon. She threw herself into this love full of anger and threat. The passionate love that was awakened now in Elli for Bende was no strong, dormant drive, but these special circumstances created and shaped this passion."<sup>124</sup> The narrative commentary and Döblin's editing of the women's voices support one another in their description of the pathological nature of these relationships. The

metaphorical level of the *Volksmund* is expanded and points to a different, more powerful level of reality, the protagonists' inner lives.

In most cases, Döblin quotes the women's metaphors to describe their inner lives. However, the simple, unscientific language of the women's voices also provides other metaphors that are charged with deeper psychological meaning. The succeeding passage exemplifies this strategy. After her second attempt to leave her husband, Elli Link returns to him yet again. First, the couple experiences a second honeymoon, but things deteriorate quickly: "They woke up again with little things and recognized each other. It started with the return of a tone of voice, with moods, little quarrels. Then they slipped. It followed the trodden path."<sup>125</sup> A complex psychological process is described with a few verbs that usually address simple physiological processes: *to awaken*, *to recognize*, *to slip*, *to follow*. *Awaken* becomes a metaphor for the triggering of a psychological dependency, *recognize* signals that both are ready to fall back into their old mode, *slip* describes their psychological decline, and *follow the trodden path* evokes the automatism and entrapment of this relationship on a psychological level. The psychological world can be described with the vocabulary of the physiological world. A highly complex psychological mechanism can be depicted with unscientific language originating in the *Volksmund* or with the description of our everyday routines.

In some instances, Döblin's use of the women's metaphors also corresponds to the theories that he championed in his scientifically framed model of the soul—for example, in his illustrations of the women's souls. The women's fear that a person could burst as a result of poisoning is well documented in the bill of indictment. The following passage is marked in Döblin's copy: "Furthermore the accused Klein declared in letter 115 and 116 that she could bear everything except 'that like mama said this afternoon, the person bursts completely open.' And in letter 116 it says in this regard: 'just one wish I would have, that this doesn't happen, what you told me, the bursting, then I would be content.' This evidences that Nebbe and especially Riemer had told her in their discussions, that the administration of the poison could have the effect that Klein's body would burst open."<sup>126</sup>

Döblin quotes this image in his narration of the events: "She hears dreary, upsetting words from her girlfriend: a person would burst open from poison. She believes it and is terrified."<sup>127</sup> In the text, Döblin presents this image as an irrational belief expressing Elli Link's generally unstable emotional state. But in the appended illustrations, it becomes a

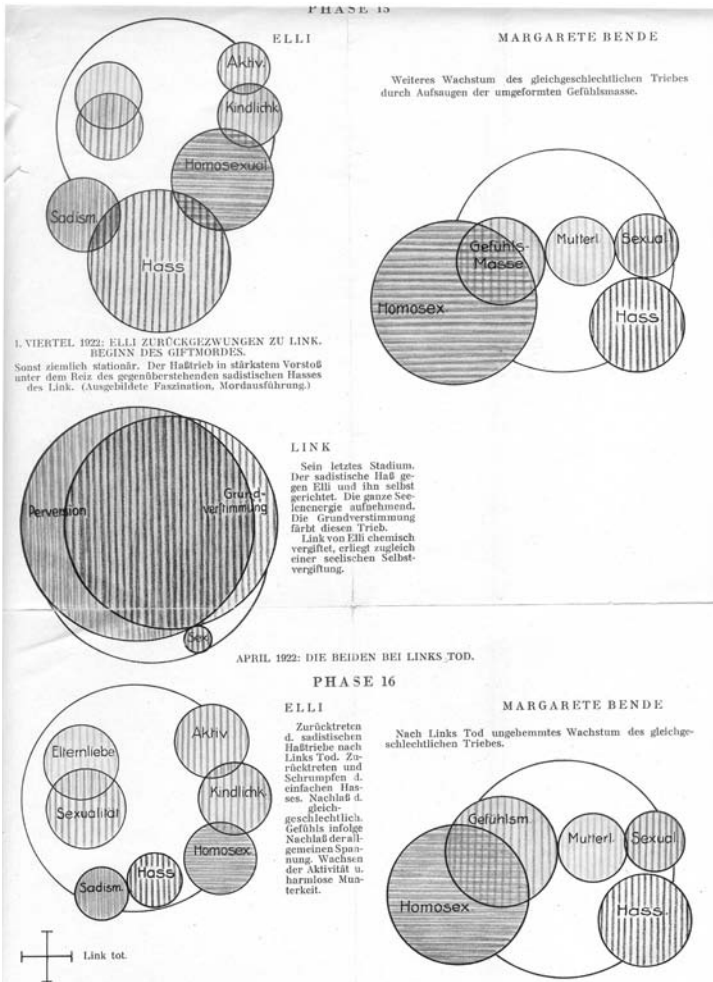


FIGURE 4. Illustration from Alfred Döblin, *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* (1924). In the appendix of illustrations that accompanies the book, Döblin provides a visual account of the individual and relational psychological dynamics of Elli; her husband, Link; and her lover, Grete, from November 1919 to May 1922. This page presents the events from January through April 1922, when Link dies. The images represent stages 15 and 16 out of 17 stages. In this visual model, a big circle represents the soul. This big circle includes little circles that represent the different psychological complexes, feelings, or motivations at play within one soul—for example, “hate” or “homosexuality.” The bigger these little circles become, the more dominant and pathological are their manifestations. The inner and outer spaces of the soul circle reflect the concept of the conscious versus the unconscious. The closer the little circles are to the surface of the big circle representing the soul, the more the psychological complexes, feelings, or motivations that they represent become conscious and influence the person’s behavior. Döblin’s notebooks include some preliminary studies for the illustrations; they show

central metaphor for his spatial soul model. The illustrations follow the story and the souls of the three main protagonists, Elli, Grete and Link, over the course of seventeen phases. In the final depiction of Link's soul before his death in phase fifteen, his "soul circle" is bursting with two consuming psychological entities that leave no room for anything else: "perversion" and "basic moodiness" (*Grundverstimmung*). Döblin comments on the image: "Link, chemically poisoned by Elli, simultaneously succumbs to a soul poisoning." Döblin had already introduced his idea of a self-inflicted soul poisoning at an earlier point in the narration: "It was basically his own drive to hate that killed him later."<sup>128</sup> What was initially presented as a private horror story concocted by the overactive fantasy of three women gains scientific validity within Döblin's illustration: people actually do burst. This image of a soul bursting with perversion, hatred, and violence is a powerful comment on the psychoanalytic discourse on war neurosis. Simmel later reintroduced this image into his observations on war neurosis, and the explosions of war turned into explosions of souls.

Döblin's literary practice of metaphorical psychology stands in close relation to Freudian theory, especially when we consider that everyday language is central to Freud's conception of psychoanalysis. In "The Question of Lay Analysis" (1926), Freud explains that choosing simple German pronouns instead of esoteric Greek terms to denominate the complex psychological instances of the self, namely, *Ich* and *Es* (in the English, unfortunately, they are usually translated with the Latin terms *ego* and *id*, respectively), and thus rendering simple terms scientifically valuable, ensures a connection between psychoanalysis and popular mentality. It is this quest to render popular language scientific, instead

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a couple of circles overlapping and are reminiscent of the mathematical concept of set theory. Indeed, the overlap of the little circles, the psychological complexes, becomes very important. They can feed off each other—for example, Link's "perversion" feeds his "basic moodiness." And they can split off separate entities—for example, Elli's large "hate" complex splits off her sadism; and Grete's "general emotional mass" and "sexuality" together produce her "homosexuality." On the top half of this page, Elli's "homosexuality" is shown directed toward Grete's "homosexuality," while her "hate" is directed toward her husband's "perversion." After Link dies (he is then represented by the cross in the lower left corner of the page), Elli's "sadism" and "hate" retreat, and so does her "homosexuality," while Grete's "homosexuality" grows "without inhibition," as Elli's husband is now dead. These relational dynamics, and the fact that no individual soul has the same components, distinguish Döblin's model from other contemporary attempts to visualize the workings of the soul, such as those by Freud, Adler, or Jung.

of creating a scientific language entirely separate from everyday experience, that Döblin is pursuing when, for example, he charges the everyday word *slipping* with the added meaning of psychological decline.

While Freud emphasized that this strategy mediated between the doctor and the patient, the scientific community and the people, the strategy had a political dimension for Döblin. For him, there was no precise scientific language that had to be translated into simpler terms. Everyday language does not mediate psychology, it constitutes psychology. Döblin's psychological model is not applied to the case study, it is part of the case study. While Döblin's model suggests the idea of an organic psychology—one rooted in language and the environment—it also suggests a psychology of the proletariat by the proletariat. While Freud sees metaphors as intrinsic to scientific writing, but still maintains a distinction between scientific and “popular” thought, Döblin blurs the boundaries between scientific and nonscientific writing.<sup>129</sup>

Döblin's narrative challenge to scientific writing also evokes Fritz Mauthner's language criticism.<sup>130</sup> Mauthner posited that in the language of the people one could discover what social psychology was unable to detect, that is, the *sensorium commune*, a collective organ of sense and thought. The people's language always contained its “unconscious, unwritten people's psychology.”<sup>131</sup> Like Mauthner, who described the sense of an individual self as an illusion, Döblin questioned the possibility of a psychology that was solely individual.<sup>132</sup> Focusing on colloquial language allowed him to delve into his psychoanalytically charged version of a *sensorium commune*.

Döblin's and Mauthner's concepts of language also shared a prominent political impetus. According to Mauthner, language determined social status, and therefore he called for a new system of social mobility devoid of a language that perpetuated hierarchical differences.<sup>133</sup> While Mauthner advocated liberation *from* language, Döblin's writing seems to suggest the possibility of liberation *through* language. In *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, the act of narrating the past becomes the only liberating moment for Elli: “Then Elli had told everything she could, in shocks and in convulsions, longingly accepted by the other woman. . . . It was a literal change, a liberation. She was relying on the old, good part of her soul.”<sup>134</sup> The idea of liberation through narration is also present in the inner crisis and the process of reflection that Elli goes through in prison. She writes down her dreams and works on her soul, which is “deepened” by this experience.<sup>135</sup> At the end of this process stand a sense of healing and a rapprochement with her family.

This psychoanalytic notion of liberation through narration resurfaces in *Berlin Alexanderplatz* in many different ways, such as Franz Biberkopf's various unsuccessful attempts to convey his story. As I have argued, the central problem of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is the search for a kind of language that does not perpetuate the structural violence that permeates the narration.

#### TOWARD NEW FORMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL NARRATION II: NO EXIT

If Elli's fear of a bursting body gained scientific validity as a metaphor for a bursting soul in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, this bursting soul regains its corporeality in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. The soundtrack of explosions that permeates the novel not only reminds us of the war but also indicates the continuing psychological violence that the war wreaks on Berlin, which Döblin spreads out over hundreds of pages. If we imagine that Link's soul has literally burst in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* could be described as a walk through the debris of the exploded soul.

While *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* presents a negotiation between two different psychological languages—that of science and that of fiction—*Berlin Alexanderplatz* leaves no question that fictions of the soul come closer to psychological truth than does science. In *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, the narrative of a pathological unconscious that is at once individual and collective takes over and carries individual psychology to an aesthetically novel place. The workings of the unconscious of “the great, serious mass being Berlin” are reflected in the narration's systematic confusion of agency and perspective.<sup>136</sup> *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is constructed as a psychological narrative that reflects psychological mechanisms in the narrative structure, rather than addressing them explicitly in the narration as does *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*.

This shift in Döblin's literary representation of psychology is revealed in his writings about the process of writing *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. In a satirical autobiographical article published in 1928, Döblin mentions his research in locations relevant to *Berlin Alexanderplatz* and explicitly points to his own medical and psychological expertise as a source of his fiction—a place where he might be able to find “some material.” In this article, titled “Döblin about Döblin,” Döblin the physician, and Döblin the writer, comment on each other as if they were two distinct people (who, by the way, don't necessarily like each other). The structure of this

piece indicates that, to write *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Döblin used his psychoanalytic resources not only to render believable narrations of specific social milieus but also in a way that concerned narrative form itself.

The fact that Döblin, in retrospect, perceived a shift in his writing around 1924 that led him to adopt a different, more visual style supports the argument that he was experimenting with different types of psychological narrative with and after *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. He described a shift toward individual psychology, initiated by his unconscious, which usually did the work for him. In Döblin's own mind, his succeeding books provided dense images and explored the relationship between self and world in novel ways—ways very different from the psychologizing, essayistic style of his contemporaries.<sup>137</sup> Döblin asserted that his narrative form was dictated by his subject matter. He claimed, in fact, that *Berlin Alexanderplatz* “wrote itself.”

The impression that Döblin conceived *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as an unmediated narration of the unconscious is sustained by his claim that each book he wrote ended with a question mark that the next book then had to pick up. The book that preceded *Berlin Alexanderplatz* was the philosophical-psychological treatise *The Ego Over Nature* (*Das Ich über der Natur*), and Döblin explained that, in contrast, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* stood for “ego in nature,” thus featuring a passive and tragic element. Indeed, the “Ich” in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, the mind of protagonist Franz Biberkopf, struggles to remain distinct from its surroundings. Almost until the very end, nothing originates in Biberkopf and he is constantly invaded by the language and demands of others.

Two years after completing *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Döblin mused on his own relationship to the city of Berlin: “From Prinzenstrasse to Moritzplatz, oh, how many memories, this city is like a sponge, or am I such a sponge?”<sup>138</sup> The sponge becomes a metaphor for the relationship (and confusion) between the self and the city: the city absorbs and contains countless facts and stories, which in turn are absorbed by the perceptive self. Considering the intensive research that Döblin conducted for each of his projects, his open curiosity about many different fields, and his seismographic sensitivity to many different discourses of his time, his question seems like a rhetorical one. While the sponge can be read as a metaphor for Döblin's approach to his work as a writer, it would be misleading to present him solely as a meticulous assembly line of contemporary material and thus deprive him of very specific political goals and theoretical agendas. As I have shown in my textual analysis, he edited his sources selectively and with a critical eye toward those

causes he wished to further. The image of the sponge, moreover, resonates with the idea of the inseparability of soul and environment that Döblin propagated in the 1920s, and which is reflected in the structure of his fiction.

If we take Döblin's claims about the work of his unconscious and the shift in his writing in earnest, and if we take into account his pronounced interest in the unconscious during these years, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* can be read as an attempt to do away with any kind of psychological mediation and to let his own unconscious and the unconscious of "the great, serious mass being Berlin" do the work. While this fictional space of the unconscious might at first glance seem to represent a disorderly and associative space, I argue that this space is, in fact, a very carefully and consciously construed unconscious, in which we find not a psychological narrative in the form of psychological commentary by an omniscient narrator but a psychological narrative embedded in narrative structures.

Discussions about the narrative structure of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* in the vast array of secondary literature introduce theories that range from those of the narrated city to those of the city-narrator, from the idea of a disjointed narrative to the idea of an associative narrative, and from genre classifications such as cinematic novel to bildungsroman or anti-bildungsroman. Common to many of these interpretations is the idea that an unfiltered city speaks, and that the novel is driven by disjointed internal monologues. Walter Benjamin created the trope of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as "a monument" to what was characteristic of Berlin. Benjamin's interpretation steered the novel's critical reception toward an understanding of the novel as a milieu or city novel, rather than as a narration of political psychology. But Benjamin also pointed out that the narrator of the novel is a strong and present voice that speaks via the city, using it as a "megaphone."<sup>139</sup> Döblin's constant obliteration of the narrator's voice (he omitted passages from the final version in which the narrator explicitly took on the identity of the author), and passages such as the much-cited section titled *Rosenthaler Square Converses*, seem at first to emphasize the principle of depersonalization proclaimed by Döblin in his *Berliner Programm* from 1913.<sup>140</sup> However, I argue that *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is aesthetically far removed from the narrative detachment of Döblin's earlier, expressionistic years.

First of all, *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is set up by a prologue, rounded off by an epilogue, and structured by a clear narrative frame of subsections that provides everything from ironic commentary, to judgmental



evaluations, to a reading guide that, for example, might advise the reader to skip the following chapter. The novel features titles and commentary for each subsection, as well as multiple narrators: one organizing voice, the voices of the protagonists, and many other occasional narrators, who may be city squares, streetcar riders, or advertising billboards. The omnipresent narrator sets up *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a novel in which Biberkopf first struggles against seemingly external forces, and then realizes that what he once considered to be the result of a cruel fate was in fact his own doing and came from within him. This account of a life change prompted by a shift in perspective resonates with the text of the original book cover, which states that one leads a life not with good intentions but with recognition, understanding, and the right person at one's side. The emphasis on the process of recognition and understanding evokes the idea of a therapeutic journey. In a much later text on analytic technique, Freud described the successful therapeutic process as a changing and strengthening of the ego: the analyst teams up with the ego to subjugate and integrate the uncontrolled parts of the id.<sup>141</sup> The prologue to *Berlin Alexanderplatz* traces exactly this therapeutic path: Biberkopf fights against forces that he later recognizes as a part of himself. The violent and seemingly external forces come from an impersonal "it": "It pushes and beats him in a cruel way."<sup>142</sup> In these sentences Döblin emphasizes what he previously describes in his writing on psychoanalysis as the violence of psychological life—internal and external at the same time.<sup>143</sup>

If Biberkopf's struggle is to be understood as a therapeutic one, the violence of the forces against him, and his vehement resistance until the very last moment of his stay in Berlin-Buch, can also stand for the psychoanalytic idea of resistance—the patient's unwillingness to recognize and change.<sup>144</sup> In an earlier version of the prologue's final lines, Döblin enforces the idea of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a psychological narrative even more by outlining two paths that Biberkopf has to fight to take: one visible and the other invisible. The invisible path as a psychological one finds its equivalent in the final metaphors of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a "process of revelation"—a journey from the darkness into the light.<sup>145</sup> These metaphors recall those in Döblin's keynote speech on Freud's seventieth birthday and in Döblin's intervention in regard to the Goethe Prize, in which he portrayed psychoanalysis as a civilizing and enlightening endeavor.

However, the dark and tragic quality that Döblin ascribed to *Berlin Alexanderplatz* also derives from the fact that this narrative of a

therapeutic journey is undermined and questioned by the way in which the narrator functions in the novel. The narrator is not only a strong presence in the text, but he also misrepresents the protagonist. Instead of providing the empathetic support that the narrator displayed in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, the narrator of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* insists that Biberkopf's failures are the result of his unrealistic expectations.<sup>146</sup> However, this idea is not substantiated in the text: we find Franz Biberkopf stumbling along in life, a smiling cipher, not asking for much, if anything. The first desire he expresses after his release from prison is to have sex with a woman, and it is the narrator, not Biberkopf himself, who voices Biberkopf's desire to be decent.<sup>147</sup> Biberkopf lacks the ability to formulate his own desires until the very end of the novel. It is the narrator who interprets the horrible events in Biberkopf's life as a meaningful experience, as "healing violence." In the fashion of a Brechtian *Moritatensänger*, the prologue closes with the forceful suggestion that Biberkopf's tale might be a valuable lesson to those readers who want more from life than sheer survival. However, as in Brecht's *Three Penny Opera*, in which only a *deus ex machina* can rescue the happy ending, the narrative intent is undermined by the subsequent narrative. The narrator imposes cathartic insight—it does not originate in the protagonist. Franz Biberkopf does not grow or change in slow, progressive steps: at the end of the novel the old Biberkopf suddenly dies in order to make space for the new, insightful one. If Biberkopf's quest is for what the scholar Klaus Scherpe terms Biberkopf's "own narrative terrain," the narrator is more of a hurdle than a helper.<sup>148</sup>

While in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* Döblin uses the women's simple language, the *Volksmund*, to create a psychological narrative, the Berlin dialect of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* is devoid of such psychological depth. The protagonists of the latter are far removed from writing down their dreams as Elli Link did in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. Until the very end of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Biberkopf is incapable of producing any metaphor, let alone a psychoanalytically charged one. The bleakness and failure of the book reflect the hopelessness of the psychological and social pathology that Döblin captures in his images of both individual and collective souls.

If one reads *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a carefully construed narration of a pathological unconscious, then the narrative mechanisms that govern this fictional unconscious space deserve special attention. As I have outlined, the novel is set up as a therapeutic process that, at its end, involves a shift in perspective and an assumption of agency by

its protagonist. Yet this structure is undermined by confusion over the question of whether Biberkopf really is the agent of his own destiny at the end. As in the framework of the novel, the confusion regarding agency, and the shifts in perspective, are organizing principles for the narrative as a whole.

The following passage of Biberkopf's sexual encounter with Minna, the sister of the woman he killed, is a good example of the constant changes in narrative perspective and the systematic confusion over the question of where action originates.

And now he smells her again, at the neck, it is the same skin, the dampness, that makes dizzy, where does it go. And she, the sister, how strange it is for her. That comes from the touch of his face, from his laying close, she has to, she fights back, but it comes over her like a transformation, her face loses the tension, her arms can't push him away any more, her mouth becomes helpless. The man says nothing, she lets lets lets him her mouth, she softens like in the bathtub, do with me what you will, she flows like water, it is alright, come, I know everything, I do like you.<sup>149</sup>

The passage begins with Biberkopf's sensual perception (third person), then moves to Minna (third person) in the second sentence, and then their two perspectives become more and more entangled. The third sentence starts out with an impersonal subject: the sensation of his face becomes the agent. It is not clear where Minna's transformation comes from, but after it occurs, fragments of her body take over the narration. The perspective shifts back to Biberkopf (third person), who is simply described as the "man." His individuality dissolves in the sexual act. At the same time, the narration emphasizes that he is regaining his sexual confidence after struggling with impotence. Within the same sentence we shift back to Minna (third person). The increasing number of commas creates a sense of speed, and the repetition of *lets* mimics the monotonous movements of sexual intercourse. Finally, the narration switches to the first person ("Do with me what you will"); presumably, Minna finds her voice in sexual ecstasy, which however, is followed by: "she flows like water." This final observation could be told from the perspective of Minna, Biberkopf, or the narrator. The invitation "come" can be read as being voiced by either of the two. To further confuse the origin of speech and action, the passage is riddled with other impersonal subjects. Considering Minna's scared and conflicted behavior before and after the scene, it could equally be argued that her "transformation" is a creation of Biberkopf's imagination, and not something arising from her actions. Because of these ambiguities, there

are many possible answers to the question of what happens in this scene and who does it.

In the paragraph that follows the description of their sexual encounter, we move from Biberkopf and Minna to animals—"the goldfish lights up in the aquarium"—and to the inorganic world of rooms, atoms, and physical forces—"the room lights . . . kinetic gas theory." As in the epilogue of *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, the organic and the inorganic matter affect one another. In *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, their communion is not just a fictional emulation of sexual ecstasy or a reflection of Döblin's interest in Monism, but a comment on the makeup of Berlin's unconscious. The insight that disorder allows superior access to knowledge, which was expressed in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, translates into a narrative of disorder, which includes several diverging voices along with one unreliable narrator. Excessive changes in perspective and diffusion of agency mirror the workings of the unconscious, the psychoanalytic idea in which Döblin was self-professedly most invested.

Döblin's strategies in developing a different kind of psychological language are especially apparent in one of the central passages of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*: the slaughterhouse passage, which I have previously mentioned as a metaphor for the pathology of postwar society. The passage begins with the location and layout of the slaughterhouse and the numbers of animals that are processed there daily, a scene that has been described as an example of Döblin's seemingly factual and depersonalized style. However, in the paragraphs of the slaughterhouse passage that follow, different voices emerge and the narrator appears everywhere, addressing both the animals and the reader. In the narrator's brief interjection into an otherwise technical description of a bull's slaughter, he reveals that the slaughter is only a prefiguration of future violence: "Now the knife is positioned, and the blood will pour out, *I can already imagine*, a fountain thick like an arm, black, beautiful, jubilant blood" (my emphasis).<sup>150</sup> The narrator describes the blood as triumphant—a judgment that ties into the narrator's reading of Biberkopf's path as a path of sacrificial and healing violence. The bull is likened to a building that has been sold and torn down by the new owner for profit's sake. Yet, one more layer of imagination is added on to this passage: at the moment of the bull's death, when the skin is already being pulled back from his throat, the reader gets a glimpse into the bull's head: "Happy meadows, muggy warm stable."<sup>151</sup> The narrator imagines the bull's memory (or dream), its past, and its future at the moment of its death. The passage ends with a description of the

meat displays in the butcher store and an appeal to Biberkopf, who has been sitting in his room for a week or two, to pay his overdue rent and prevent his expulsion to a homeless shelter.

Once again, the shifts in perspective and the confusion of agency pervade the passage and create the space of Berlin's fictional unconscious, where houses, animals, and people are all isolated and subjected to violence for the sake of profit. Döblin's psychological fiction emerged from the context of a highly politicized psychoanalytic scene specific to Berlin. Rather than simply translating psychoanalytic principles into a psychologizing narration from the standpoint of an analytical observer, Döblin ultimately deployed his psychoanalytic knowledge to attempt the impossible project of exposing without mediation individual souls and the collective unconscious. Mapping the city becomes part of mapping the soul, and the devastated and disjointed inner landscape of the Elli Links and the Franz Biberkopfs that crowded Döblin's office every day become a mirror of the social and mental misery and disjunction of post-war Berlin.

# Wild Psychoanalysis, Religion, and Race

*Georg Groddeck Talks to Count Hermann von Keyserling (among Others)*

After the previous discussion of the Berlin Psychoanalytic's development from its beginnings through the 1920s, in this chapter I address this context from a perspective perceived by the Freudian psychoanalytic associations as marginal because of its theoretical eclecticism. The relationship of the self-declared "wild analyst" Georg Groddeck (1866–1934) to the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute provides a marginal perspective both geographically (Groddeck observed the developments in Berlin from southern Germany) and theoretically (a minority of Berlin psychoanalysts considered his psychoanalytic thought to be pathbreaking, but the majority labeled it as unscientific and outside the bounds of Freudian psychoanalysis).<sup>1</sup> The discussions about Groddeck illuminate the tension between the conservative and progressive tendencies that were simultaneously present at the institute, where they revolved primarily around the questions of lay analysis, popularization, and engagement with other psychoanalytic schools. Despite its differences, Groddeck's work is characteristic of the Berlin Psychoanalytic in its aim to popularize psychoanalysis and to synthesize it with modernist aesthetics, philosophy, and social thought.

While Groddeck was an interlocutor of many figures from the Berlin Psychoanalytic, in this chapter I give special attention to his encounter with Count Hermann von Keyserling (1880–1946), a philosopher and writer. Though Keyserling's attempt to synthesize divergent psychoanalytic schools with a variety of spiritual and religious traditions has

fallen into oblivion, his work was internationally influential during his lifetime. The dialogue between Keyserling and Groddeck reveals a more experimental, if not esoteric, side of the Berlin Psychoanalytic. If we consider the imagery that the two deploy, their dialogue also taps into what could be called the “Christian unconscious” of the Berlin Psychoanalytic. Not a “Christian unconscious” in the sense that Paul C. Vitz describes in relation to Freud’s biography, but in terms of a reaction to what Keyserling and Groddeck perceived and described as Jewish in psychoanalysis.<sup>2</sup> Keyserling and Groddeck also exemplify the overlap between psychoanalytic thought and racialized, eugenic theories. This overlap, so unsettling in hindsight, was more widespread in psychoanalysis than is commonly acknowledged today.<sup>3</sup>

Groddeck was an important interlocutor for the younger generation of psychoanalysts at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, such as Ernst Simmel and Karen Horney. (Horney plays a prominent role in chapter 4.) Horney’s view of femininity was shaped during her years at the institute, and in her exchange with Groddeck on sexuality and, in particular, on what she perceived as the dogmatism of the older generation of Berlin psychoanalysts. Groddeck’s work also represents an important link between Berlin psychoanalysis, the psychoanalytic thought of the Frankfurt School, and American postwar psychoanalysis (via Erich Fromm, Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, and Martin Grotjahn). The following pages trace Groddeck’s relationship to the Freudian psychoanalytic movement, his engagement with literary modernism in the psychoanalytic novels of the 1920s, and his encounter with Keyserling.

#### SOUL SEARCHING: GEORG GRODDECK’S PSYCHOANALYTIC NOVELS

Groddeck’s complicated relationship with the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute and to Freudian psychoanalysis reflects his trajectory from spa medicine to “wild psychoanalysis.” Groddeck’s father had run a sanatorium in the eastern German town of Bad Kösen, and the son went on to study medicine with Rudolf Virchow and Ernst Schwenninger at the Charité in Berlin. His encounter with Schwenninger was formative for Groddeck, who later incorporated Schwenninger’s massage techniques and patient-centered approach into his own practice.<sup>4</sup> After working for a decade as a military physician, and as doctor in Schwenninger’s Berlin and Baden-Baden sanatoriums, Groddeck opened his own sanatorium in Baden-Baden in 1900, where his treatments attracted a large

international clientele, including Europe's royalty. From his clinic in Baden-Baden, Groddeck also launched his career as novelist and essayist with *A Woman Problem* (1902), *Child of this Earth* (1905), and *The Pastor of Langewiesche* (1909).<sup>5</sup>

Groddeck's protest against the inadequate treatment of soldiers led to his release from duty as a military doctor in 1915. While *Nasamecu* (1913), his early treatise on treatment methods, had criticized psychoanalysis as poisonous to society because of its focus on analysis rather than a treatment by suggestion, which Groddeck favored at that time, he sought to connect with the psychoanalytic movement toward the end of World War I.

In May 1917, Groddeck introduced himself to Freud by letter. He explained that his initial rejection of psychoanalysis was a result of his own sense of competition—reading Freud's work would have destroyed his own claim to originality. By presenting some of his case studies and outlining his idea of the id as the force behind all types of illness, not only neuroses, Groddeck sought Freud's opinion on whether his work transgressed the "limits of psychoanalytic activity."<sup>6</sup> In his answer, Freud "laid claim" to Groddeck: "Who recognizes that transference and resistance are pivotal for the treatment, belongs without fail to the wild army."<sup>7</sup> Ironically, Groddeck would turn out to be a "wilder" psychoanalyst than many members of Freud's "wild army" were willing to tolerate.

When Groddeck asked Freud which association he should apply to for membership, despite "not quite fitting in," Freud, having already alerted Karl Abraham to Groddeck's work, suggested Berlin.<sup>8</sup> A few months after his acceptance into the Berlin Psychoanalytic Association in July 1920, Groddeck reportedly opened his speech at the Sixth International Psychoanalytic Congress in The Hague with the declaration "I am a wild analyst." He proceeded to deliver one of his infamous, seemingly improvised lectures, which included an analysis of his own bed-wetting.<sup>9</sup> Groddeck further scandalized the psychoanalytic establishment by bringing his former patient and future second wife, the Swedish Freud translator Emmy von Voigt, along to the congress, despite being still married to his first wife. By his own account, Groddeck spent his time at the congress chasing Freud "in a comatose state . . . as if in love," longing to spend time alone with him.<sup>10</sup> Freud seemed to have questioned whether Groddeck's talk was to be taken seriously, and Groddeck felt compelled to clarify his views in a note addressed to Freud while still in The Hague.<sup>11</sup>



Groddeck's debut intervention regarding the psychoanalysis of physiological processes received mixed reviews, but it marked the beginning of his friendship with the Berlin analysts Karen Horney and Ernst Simmel. Simmel, a self-declared member of the "Groddeck congregation," frequently visited him in Baden-Baden. While Simmel didn't view Groddeck's clinic as a strictly psychoanalytic clinic or a model for his own clinic in the Tegel Castle in the north of Berlin, Groddeck's work influenced his psychosomatic approach and his emphasis on the patient's power in treatment.<sup>12</sup> Horney and Groddeck also became correspondents after the congress at The Hague. Over her summer holiday in 1923, Horney read Groddeck's *Book of the It*. It helped her come to terms with the death of her brother, which at first had seemed senseless to her. Following Groddeck's stipulation that the body fulfilled its own destiny, she concluded that "something in him wanted to die."<sup>13</sup> She spent time in Baden-Baden to recover from the crisis that her brother's death brought on, and before leaving Germany in 1932 she made it a point to pay a good-bye visit to Groddeck.<sup>14</sup>

Another important supporter of Groddeck's work within the inner circles of the psychoanalytic movement was the Hungarian psychoanalyst Sándor Ferenczi. Also a great popularizer of psychoanalysis, Ferenczi shared with Groddeck a theoretical emphasis on the mother-child relationship and an interest in experimentation with the transference/countertransference dynamic. Ferenczi decided to go to Baden-Baden for treatment in 1921, and he returned every year thereafter. In 1926, he was accompanied by Lou Andreas-Salomé, who valued Groddeck's early work and sought his advice on Rainer Maria Rilke's yet undiagnosed illness.<sup>15</sup>

Along with Ferenczi, Horney, Simmel, and Freud's close collaborator Otto Rank, Freud himself thought very highly of Groddeck after encountering him at The Hague. Freud defended Groddeck during the controversy surrounding the latter's first psychoanalytic novel, *The Soul Searcher* (1921). Groddeck had expressly chosen the novel form because he hoped its familiarity would enable him to convey the Freudian unconscious to a larger audience while, at the same time, serving as a medium for those psychoanalytic thoughts that could not be couched within the scientific setting.<sup>16</sup> August Müller, the protagonist of *The Soul Searcher*, shares his house with his sister, Agathe Willen—Groddeck's nod to Nietzsche—and her daughter, Alwine. Müller becomes increasingly obsessed with the bedbugs that the vengeful old maid Trude (whom he wrongly believes to be his old nursemaid) left in the

house after being forced to give up her room for Alwine. Madly convinced that every physiological or psychological phenomenon is a result of contagion, he deifies the last bedbug he kills and re-creates himself as a new man born of doubt, named Thomas Weltlein. As Thomas Weltlein, he goes out to preach his bedbug gospel to priests, socialists, feminists, students, policemen, doctors, and aristocrats, until he dies in a train accident on his way to Berlin.

Groddeck's novel is replete with innuendo and incestuous tension; the initial trigger for August's metamorphosis is his desire for his niece, Alwine. Into this journey through all social layers and institutions, Groddeck wove his own theories—for example, on the bisexuality of organs and physiological mechanisms—together with psychoanalytic criticism of literature and art, some of which he worked out in separate publications. *The Soul Searcher* contains parodies of different types of speech, including scientific, philosophical, and literary speech, and on occasion imitates sounds, such as the *tschu tschu* of the train. This programmatically unstructured novel, which keeps shifting perspective, is barely constrained by "the editor," who is not afraid to interfere when Weltlein's main interlocutor, the psychoanalyst Dr. Lachmann, seems to tilt his part of the report toward a clinical evaluation:

The well-disposed reader should remember that this conversation was told only by Lachmann, who purportedly got it from the student. There is no doubt that it didn't happen as it is told, but that Lachmann changed it on purpose or unconsciously. Lachmann's assertion of complete objectivity in his report doesn't change that a bit, since all doctors claim the objectivity of their observations and statements, even though they could know that their profession is absolutely subjective. The arbitrariness of Lachmann's method becomes apparent in the fact that he edited his own, by the way rather imperfect, technique of psychoanalytic treatment into this conversation, a procedure that is indispensable to doctors, without which their practice doesn't seem to be imaginable. The strange deviations in the hero's character aroused such disapproval in Agathe that the report is peppered with exclamation points and question marks.<sup>17</sup>

The reader is reminded that the text has passed through different stages of conscious and unconscious editing and filtering, and thus that there is no original text. The idea of a direct one-to-one psychoanalytic confession to the reader is rendered absurd in this passage, and with his interjection the editor draws attention to his own potentially questionable motivations. Moreover, psychoanalysis is presented as a subjective practice of rewriting, rather than as a scientific practice of recording or interpreting.

While Groddeck considered this his best book, many Freudian analysts did not share that view. The Swiss Psychoanalytic Association officially protested its publication, and in particular the Swiss analyst Oskar Pfister resented Groddeck's "dabbling between science and belletristic literature."<sup>18</sup> Freud, who had mediated the novel's publication with the International Psychoanalytic Press, defended it against the Swiss attack and likened Groddeck's prose to that of Rabelais. While the British analyst Ernest Jones was piqued by its "bawdy passages," Karl Abraham deemed the book to be "unbearably boring."<sup>19</sup> The novel became a controversial topic in the discussions of Freud's Secret Committee, his inner circle, which was instrumental in shaping psychoanalysis as an institution. Freud and Rank managed to block the publication of a damning review by Hanns Sachs, who had originally taken interest in Groddeck's work and invited him to Vienna.<sup>20</sup> Instead Groddeck's friend Ferenczi was assigned to write a review, which praised *The Soul Searcher* as an unveiling of the pietistic-hypocritical zeitgeist. In his review, Ferenczi pointed out several issues that became increasingly important in Groddeck's work, including the fact that for the novel's protagonist the symbolic was very much rooted in the organic, even the cosmic, and that sexuality was central to the world of symbols.<sup>21</sup>

*The Soul Searcher* was a sensation in Berlin literary circles, and its themes remerged in other works, such as Mynona's 1922 *Grey Magic*. The latter, jokingly labeled a "roman à skeleton key," presents a philosophical-fantastical tour de force through Berlin in which Ernst Simmel cameos as a party guest. It also inspired the novel *The Confessions of Zeno* (1923), by the Italian modernist Italo Svevo, a Joyce mentee (the novel in turn became a major inspiration to the Chicago psychoanalyst Heinz Kohut). Svevo had accompanied his brother-in-law, Bruno Veneziani (who had been referred to Groddeck by Freud), to Groddeck's sanatorium, where *The Soul Searcher* was required reading.<sup>22</sup>

Alfred Döblin valued Groddeck's "humorous, often funny novel," but decided that *psychoanalytic novel* was a misnomer, and that the composition of the story and its characters were not influenced by psychoanalysis: "The author walked through the Red Sea of Viennese teachings with dry feet."<sup>23</sup> He concluded that Groddeck was no Rabelais. Reading *The Soul Searcher* must have shaped Döblin's artistic vision, explored in the previous chapter, that a psychoanalytic novel was not a novel dealing with psychoanalysis but a novel that deployed psychoanalytic knowledge. Alfred Polgar on the other hand, wrote a glowing endorsement of this "persiflage of psychoanalysis," calling it a

first “smart-crazy” German attempt in the tradition of Jonathan Swift and Miguel de Cervantes, and helped turn *The Soul Searcher* into a best-seller: “The comedy flows from the execution of the method, the method itself suffers no damage.”<sup>24</sup> Groddeck immediately began work on his next psychoanalytic novel “about the unconscious . . . something popular.”<sup>25</sup> After making a series of changes in the passages that the editors deemed “unscientific”—for example, Groddeck’s play with numerology—*The Book of the It* was published in March 1923 by the International Psychoanalytic Press, shortly before Freud’s *The Ego and the Id*.<sup>26</sup> *The Book of the It* is an epistolary novel of sorts. The text consists of a series of letters about psychoanalysis exchanged between Groddeck’s fictional alter ego, Patrick Troll, and an unnamed female friend. It seems beside the point to determine a historical model for Groddeck’s interlocutor, as many Groddeck editors and biographers have attempted to do, since Patrick Troll’s female friend is as much a fictional—at best composite—character as Patrick Troll himself (despite the biographical overlap with Groddeck). In true Groddeck fashion, the name Patrick Troll has both a male and a female component, namely, the nicknames of Groddeck and his wife.

Patrick Troll’s friend, too, is likely to be both male and female, since within this fictional framework many of Groddeck’s own psychoanalytical debates with his correspondents are given voice. The disagreement between Troll and his friend on the nature of the id captures Groddeck’s theoretical disagreement with Freud. Troll’s essays on motherly love and motherly hate mirror the author’s dialogue with Horney.<sup>27</sup> *The Book of the It* explores several key components of Groddeck’s psychoanalytic thought, such as a rejection of the distinction between the physiological and the psychological realm, the need for self-analysis, a psychoanalysis of the senses (such as the sense of smell), the body’s symbolism, and human bisexuality. Like *The Soul Searcher*, *The Book of the It* synthesizes different genres: Troll’s correspondence is interspersed with case studies, interpretations of fairy tales and biblical myths, snippets of self-analysis, and much more. Troll’s friend is frequently frustrated by his seemingly unrelated digressions and altogether disorderly narrative, but these frustrations turn out to reflect the underlying principle of Troll’s psychoanalytic vision: “I asked you a little while ago to read my letters like a traveler’s guidebook; but I did not want you to attribute to this travel book any greater value than to the statements of the Englishman who, after a stay of two hours in Calais, maintained that all Frenchmen were red-haired and freckled, because, as it happened, the waiter who

served him was like that.”<sup>28</sup> Citing the Gospels’ assertion that truth is to be found neither in heaven, nor on earth, nor in between, Troll postulates that there are two paths toward it: luxury opinions that provide entertainment, or working hypotheses that serve as instruments.<sup>29</sup> His letters explore both, trying out different, at times conflicting, theories.

*The Book of the It* tells the story of the increasingly intimate relationship between Troll and his friend, who comes across in his letters as a quick-witted and knowledgeable interlocutor who shares a past with Troll, but who has a mind of her own. Groddeck, who worked and corresponded with many women, here posits psychoanalysis as a theory developed in dialogue with a woman. It contains feminist as well as antifeminist elements. Troll’s letters are ostensibly didactic, but his psychoanalytic pupil emancipates herself: she suggests he publish his letters, but declines to have her own included. Her resistance to Troll’s theories—she eventually tires of reading his letters and withdraws from the dialogue—induces Troll to develop his theory of psychoanalysis as an analysis of resistance, during which some things might be brought to the conscious mind, while others are better further repressed into deeper layers of the unconscious. Groddeck embeds his meditation and commentary on Freudian psychoanalysis in the framing of his book: we have one voice speaking, but one that mirrors and projects another voice. Patrick Troll could be read as a patient as much as an analyst, and as a pupil as much as a teacher. *The Book of the It* explicitly provides Groddeck’s versions of several of Freud’s case studies, including Anna O. (in Groddeck’s Fräulein G.) and the Rat Man (in his war neurotic D.). However, its framework of resistance implicitly connects *The Book of the It* to Freud’s famous patient Dora, who broke off her analysis with Freud, leading him to theorize her resistance to his treatment as a case of countertransference.<sup>30</sup> But to Groddeck, resistance is resistance. The fragmentary character of *The Book of the It* is not an unhappy accident but the result of Groddeck’s psychoanalytic vision.

Groddeck’s novel is one example of a genre that emerged in this period as a popular challenge to a scientific framework; other examples include Jakob von Uexküll’s *Biological Letters to a Lady* (1920), Otto Hinrichsen’s *Conduct with the Self—Twelve Letters to a Friend* (1921), and Hans Prinzhorn’s answer to Groddeck, the critical *Conversation about Psychoanalysis* (1926), a discussion between “a woman, a poet, and a doctor.” But more significantly, it is Groddeck’s language of the It that connects him to the literary avant-garde of his time:

What a toilsome business it is to speak about the It. One plucks a string of hazard, and there comes the response, not of a single note but of many, confusedly mingling and dying away again, or else awakening new echoes, and ever new again, until such an ungoverned medley of sounds is raging that the stammer of speech is lost. Believe me, one cannot speak about the unconscious, one can only stammer, or rather, one can only point out this and that with caution, lest the hell brood of the unconscious world should rush up out of the depths with their wild clangor.<sup>31</sup>

The stammering of the It and its cacophony of voices are omnipresent in the language of Weimar Republic modernism, whether found in Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz* or Dada poetry.

#### GRODDECK: ENFANT TERRIBLE OF INSTITUTIONALIZING PSYCHOANALYSIS

Groddeck was disappointed with Freud's tepid reaction to *The Book of the It* and the psychoanalytic journals' initial failure to discuss the book. After Sachs had been prevented from publishing his negative review of *The Soul Searcher*, he reviewed Groddeck's work this time around—albeit two years after its publication. Sachs alternated indecisively between praise for Groddeck's esprit and a critique of a perceived lack of structure and suspense. Sachs contended that, strictly speaking, “every page says the same thing.”<sup>32</sup> To read this “self-promotion of the unconscious” by this “glorifier of the id” as anything close to science would be unreasonable.

As his novel had progressed, Groddeck had sent manuscript excerpts to Freud, and it had become increasingly apparent that their conceptions of the id were quite different. In April 1921, Freud sent Groddeck a drawing of the psychological apparatus, which he later revised for *The Ego and the Id*. While Freud described an ego that was completely separate from the deep and undivided id, Groddeck saw the ego as an extension, and in some cases, even a disguise, of the id. In contrast to Freud, Groddeck also believed that the id caused every kind of symptom, whether psychological or organic, and thus, any kind of disease could be treated with analysis. While Freud reminded Groddeck that he allowed Groddeck's id early on into his own work, he also emphasized that he didn't share his “panpsychism that rises up to mysticism.”<sup>33</sup>

These differences made themselves known in September 1922 at the congress of the IPA in Berlin, at which Freud presented part of *The Ego and the Id* immediately before Groddeck was slated to speak on

the same topic. Groddeck regrouped at the last minute, and his talk on the psychoanalytic treatment of organic diseases was well received.<sup>34</sup> Groddeck himself, however, deemed the whole event an “unedifying memory” and spent his time absorbed in an argument with the Munich psychoanalyst Hans von Hattingberg (1879–1944), who had openly critiqued psychoanalytic dogmatism in his lecture. Hattingberg was an early secretary of the IPA and later “wild analyst” who continued his work at the Göring Institute. After the congress, Hattingberg wrote an open letter to Thomas Weltlein, Groddeck’s fictional protagonist from *The Soul Searcher*, that was intended to question Groddeck’s behavior: “Why do you not take psychoanalysis seriously enough, while taking the dangers of your masochism far too seriously, so that you can dare to interact with others only in a jester’s garb?”<sup>35</sup> While Groddeck wrote to Freud that he should have stepped up to defend him at the congress, he apologized to Hattingberg, conceding that the latter had taken some of the wind out of his sails and clearly had struck home with his letter to Weltlein:

My stay in Berlin stood under the sign of a digression into my childhood homeland. Freud was playing the role of the mother, and you of one of my brothers. . . . After all that preceded I should have declared myself in favor of or against the official usage of psychoanalysis. Instead I played the jester and got angry that you brought up things that I should have addressed. . . . I will perform once again in the jester’s garb. I consider satire the only form in which moderately talented people can keep themselves alive in the long run.<sup>36</sup>

Unlike the Freudian psychoanalytic establishment, Groddeck was to remain in contact with Hattingberg, who incidentally was one of Keyserling’s analysts at the time.

Döblin, who had observed the Berlin congress, recommended Groddeck’s work to his readers: “The dissolution of psychological knots, the revelation of entangled soul situations, is less his domain than is the recognition of the sexual, as left and right of the life of the soul the ‘indecent’ loses its character in its jest and superiority.”<sup>37</sup> Like Döblin, younger members of the BPI appreciated Groddeck’s frank and deeply personal language, as well as his calculated acting out, which, according to Karen Horney, would probably have been reduced to “exhibitionism” by analysts like Abraham. Horney wrote about *The Book of the It*: “It seems to me that you are smuggling omnipotence back into the id. But the nice thing is that you had the courage to do something with your fantasies of omnipotence.” With Groddeck, Horney could share

her frustration with the dynamics of the BPI: "There is no less hypocrisy here than anywhere else—it's just a little different." According to Horney, the Berlin analysts were like Christians who become unpleasant once their own sins are pointed out.<sup>38</sup>

In February 1922, months before the Berlin congress, the psychoanalyst Heinrich Meng (1887–1972) had introduced himself in a letter to Groddeck. Meng had come to Berlin on Freud's advice to be analyzed by Hanns Sachs. He collaborated with Döblin at the BPI polyclinic, as well as in the Association of Socialist Physicians. After 1929, Meng, along with Karl Landauer, led the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute. An expert in psychoanalytic pedagogy, Meng was committed to the BPI's project of popularizing psychoanalysis. He was, for example, an editor of the introductory manual *Psychoanalytisches Volksbuch* (1926) and an organizer of two initiatives, in 1926 and 1936, with his analysand Stefan Zweig, to get the Nobel Prize awarded to Sigmund Freud.<sup>39</sup> Meng's Viennese analyst, Paul Federn, who frequently sent patients to Groddeck, had suggested a meeting. Meng was also keen to discuss the idea "that analytically interested southern German colleagues should meet one or two times a year."<sup>40</sup>

Meng introduced Groddeck to the psychoanalyst Frieda Reichmann (1889–1957), an introduction that led to an intensive correspondence and friendship that extended to Reichmann's later husband, Erich Fromm. Frieda Reichmann ran a small psychoanalytic sanatorium in Heidelberg, the so-called Thorapeutikum, where Jewish religious practice was an integral part of the treatment. Groddeck became an important influence on Reichmann, especially in regard to the centrality of the mother in child development, as well as in regard to transference dynamics. When Reichmann had a tumor removed, Groddeck was one of the few people she confided in, noting in a letter to him that the tumor had the shape of a child and the operation was a birth of sorts.<sup>41</sup>

Erich Fromm, too, corresponded with Groddeck and, moreover, continued to work with Groddeck's thought in exile.<sup>42</sup> In his 1935 article "Psychoanalytic Therapy and Its Social Basis," Fromm described the biases of psychoanalysis that stem from its bourgeois-liberal origin: the conscious relativism of values and the unconscious affirmation of sexual taboos. Thus the analyst, like the family and the psychological agency of society, effectively blocks the analysand's development. In this context, Groddeck and Ferenczi appear as true alternative models to Freud. Fromm saw Groddeck in the romantic tradition of Carl Gustav Carus and Johann Jakob Bachofen and considered him a critic of



sexual mores from a feudal standpoint rather than a revolutionary one. To Fromm's Groddeck, nothing related to human drives appeared sinful, and the kind analyst existed in service of the analysand. Given his own references to Groddeck's thought on bourgeois sexuality, it is surprising that Fromm saw Groddeck's impact mainly on an immediate, personal level. That he did not want, on principle, to found a systematic school of thought is something that Groddeck himself professed and something that has been perpetuated in the secondary literature on Groddeck. But in light of the volume of his published writings that Groddeck left behind, together with enthusiastic testimonials of his intellectual influence, he may have had more theoretical impact on the psychoanalytic movement (depending on where one might draw the boundaries of that movement) than a psychoanalyst like Max Eitingon, who published little but was highly influential as an administrative figure and training analyst.

With Fromm, Reichmann, Meng, and Landauer, Groddeck became an active part of a working group of southern German psychoanalysts that formally established itself in 1929 as the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute, the second German psychoanalytic institute, after Berlin. Until shortly before his death, Groddeck went to meetings in Frankfurt and in Heidelberg, and he also hosted meetings in his own sanatorium, which started out with a lecture about his patients and, of course, also about himself.<sup>43</sup> As Meng wrote, his teachings were influential for the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute: "The significance of bisexuality in any organ cell and of the whole human being in the creation of disease symptoms, and the autoplasmic power of pregnancy and motherhood fantasies in many men[,] are just examples."<sup>44</sup> In particular, Karl Landauer, the director of the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute, and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann pointed out the relevance of Groddeck's theories to their own clinical experience. The fact that the southern German group also included Hans Prinzhorn, the psychiatrist and pioneering champion of outsider art who later edited *Crisis of Psychoanalysis* (1928), exemplifies its openness to a wider variety of psychoanalytic approaches.<sup>45</sup> As Meng wrote to Groddeck, "The isolation in the south has some advantages—at least for thought."<sup>46</sup>

The traits that attracted the younger Berlin-trained analysts like Meng, Simmel, Fromm, and Horney to Groddeck and his work were the same ones that irritated the older generation of analysts. In a circular sent to Freud's Secret Committee from 1925, Eitingon, Abraham, and Sachs jointly accused Groddeck of doing "with *Psa.* [psychoanalysis]

what ever suits him at the moment.” They described a Groddeck lecture at the Lessing-Hochschule, a prestigious private university, during which “he revealed all the most intimate details of his private life” and “reveled continuously in the crassest expressions.”<sup>47</sup> Groddeck apparently shocked the audience by relating his experiences with masturbation and impotence, and by admitting violent fantasies and a death wish against his wife, who was present at the lecture. As Wolfgang Martynkewicz has pointed out, Groddeck’s improvisations were carefully planned and performed, right down to the honking of a car, scripted weeks before the Lessing-Hochschule lecture, that would launch him into a seemingly unrelated and very personal free association about his childhood.<sup>48</sup> Meng likened Groddeck’s speaking to a religious experience, which at times might be revelatory and at other times remain mysterious.<sup>49</sup> Ferenczi admonished Abraham for having handled “the case of Groddeck somewhat too rigidly,” and, while he saw Groddeck’s free associations as “perhaps not very tactful, even cocky,” he pointed out the courage in his approach.<sup>50</sup>

#### MRS. MÜLLER GOES TO TOWN: GRODDECK AND THE QUESTION OF LAY ANALYSIS

In early 1925, municipal authorities accused the Viennese lay analyst Theodor Reik of malpractice.<sup>51</sup> In the wake of this highly publicized malpractice accusation and legal wrangling, the September 1925 psychoanalytic congress in Bad Homburg produced another milestone in the professionalization and streamlining of the German psychoanalytic movement. Max Eitingon proposed a new set of guidelines for psychoanalytic training, and an international training board under his leadership was established. While these guidelines did not exclude lay analysts, the discussion was clearly aimed at this controversial issue. Well into the late 1920s, Groddeck considered it his “urgent duty” to fight with all means against attempts to curtail lay analysis.<sup>52</sup> Like Freud, Groddeck vehemently opposed the medicalization of psychoanalysis. In a commentary on Freud’s book on lay analysis, Groddeck argued that, while a psychoanalytic diagnosis could render a medical treatment obsolete, a purely medical diagnosis could fail to address the psychological roots of an organic disease. The best remedy against “quacks” was better treatment—regardless of the type of training. Reducing the relative authority of the physician, Groddeck claimed that the ultimate responsibility for a treatment remained with the patient—the patient died when the patient

deemed it was time to die. For Groddeck, the question of lay analysis was vital to the survival of psychoanalysis, and he decried the current discussion as an example of how a creator could become a slave to his creation (in Groddeck speak, like a mother becoming a slave to her child). Liking the psychoanalytic account of personal history to the history of psychoanalysis as a movement, Groddeck argued that psychoanalysis was especially subject to being overpowered by the past, since the past was its main working tool. Thirty years might be an advanced age for a person, but not for a movement, and thus Groddeck doubted that a movement in development should so quickly solidify its teachings.<sup>53</sup>

Groddeck at first cancelled his participation in Bad Homburg, which was to be a lecture on the id, after hearing that Freud, the main addressee for his lecture in the aftermath of their disagreement over the id, would not be present. He recommitted after Freud disapproved of this withdrawal, but met with some hostility at the congress.<sup>54</sup> Groddeck was told that he might as well use “God” instead of “id,” and Abraham once again complained to Freud that the only really bad lecture was Groddeck’s.<sup>55</sup> Meng, however, supported both Groddeck’s free-flowing psychoanalytic interventions and the journal *The Ark*, which Groddeck edited—and for the most part authored—against these attacks.<sup>56</sup>

Following Homburg, Groddeck appealed to Horney, saying that there was an urgent need to found an organization that encompassed “everybody interested in psychoanalytic research.”<sup>57</sup> Ferenczi had brought up the matter of an “international society of the friends of psychoanalysis” in Homburg after consulting with Freud, but withdrew the proposal when he met with rejection. Before the congress, Eitingon had already dismissed such a society—which would have included wild analysts, and would have presented a counterweight to the medicalization of psychoanalysis—as an “organization of those who know less.”<sup>58</sup> While Horney was a member (along with Eitingon, Abraham, Simmel, and Sachs) of the commission that shaped the guidelines for psychoanalytic training in Berlin, she feared for the future of psychoanalysis in a climate that allowed less and less dialogue outside of the narrowing confines of the institutes.<sup>59</sup>

In his write-up of the congress for *The Ark*, Groddeck took issue with the hypocrisy of what he saw as an organization whose leader was never analyzed and which counted lay analysts such as Sachs, Rank, and Pfister among its leadership, yet sought to press psychoanalysis into the clinical confines of the International Psychoanalytic Association: “As far as I know, none of the leading psychoanalysts has been trained in



FIGURE 5. The psychoanalytic congress in Bad Homburg, 1925. Courtesy of Ludger Hermanns (BPI).

such way that he could deem himself to be conducting anything different from wild analysis.”<sup>60</sup> Groddeck then outlined what he would have liked to say in his congress lecture but didn’t: the id exists before the brain; it is the creating principle of everything organic and psychological; the “id lets us think, feel, act”; and any human expression is an expression of the id. Therefore, the psychoanalyst who pays attention to constipation, blushing, and bouts of pain “rapes his own thought if he doesn’t listen to the languages of scarlet fever, tumors, consumption.” Heart disease speaks of love and its repressions, stomachaches tell about the innermost soul (which has its seat in the belly), uterine cancer speaks of sins against mother duty and of sexual regret.<sup>61</sup> Groddeck carefully omitted Freud in his critique of what he perceived as the dogmatization of psychoanalysis. Instead, he likened him to the founder of a religion that opened up a path to a completely new understanding of one’s neighbor.

In the context of the Homburg congress, the letters of the self-declared psychoanalytical “wildling” Margarethe Müller to Groddeck shed some additional light on Groddeck’s critique of the role that the Berlin Institute played in the institutionalization of psychoanalysis.<sup>62</sup> In 1925, Müller described her first meeting with “the famous or—forgive me—‘infamous’ Georg Groddeck”: her heart was beating “foolishly” when she approached him after his talk in Homburg and told him that she had no standing in the organization. Groddeck apparently interjected that he found this fact especially intriguing.

As related by Ludwig Seyberth, the supervising doctor at a miner's hospital in Senftenberg, a small town in southern Brandenburg, Müller approached him in 1922 in order to undertake an experimental treatment of a young woman interned for schizophrenia, a condition for which the psychoanalytic treatment was generally not considered appropriate. Müller assumed that schizophrenia was a problem of "deconcentration of energies." Because of a complete regression of the libido into the ego, no attachment of energies to images of the outside world could occur. This lack of attachment ultimately resulted in a complete separation of words and images.

According to her own account, Müller transferred the patient from a state asylum, where she was lying in bed with her face to the wall, to a private hospital room, which Müller decorated with flowers and images. With concentration exercises, Müller brought the patient to a point at which she could detach her libido from the ego and reconnect with the outside world. After this, Müller began psychoanalytic treatment, during which they discussed the patient's strong "masculinity complex" and disappointing marriage. After five months, the patient was transferred to the Berlin analyst Friedrich A. Loofs for a more thorough analysis. However, this follow-up treatment was discontinued under unclear circumstances, and Müller concluded that, despite the improvements, her patient's treatment had been too short overall to effect a complete social reintegration. Müller also treated a war veteran with "conversion hysteria," who had witnessed a close friend being injured by a grenade and who subsequently suffered from paralysis, addiction to narcotics, and difficulty speaking. According to Müller's diagnosis, the natural psychological defenses of the patient had been weakened by a lack of preparedness for fear (*Angstbereitschaft*). Her conversations with the patient uncovered an identification with the injured friend, as well as associations with a traumatic injury of the eye as a child. Her declared goal was to make the patient recognize the psychological "gains" or "defenses" that his disease permitted him, and to break the "unconscious will" to be sick. The role of the psychoanalyst was to read the language of the body and—against the conventional wisdom of the time—not to remain passive.<sup>63</sup>

While Müller continued to treat patients with encouragement from Freud and was "entitled to participate at all scientific meetings and congresses," she had no medical training and described the difficulty of a "Carrière" in psychoanalysis, since only doctors could be admitted for training at this point: "I am not a professional analyst—amateur analyst sounds bad!"<sup>64</sup> It seems that Freud referred her to the "younger

forces” of the BPI. In a letter to Groddeck, Müller quoted from a letter from Ernst Simmel: “The fact that you can help, dear madam, where the guild is failing—psychoanalysis too has already become a guild—determines me to support and help you, however it is in my power.”<sup>65</sup> In early 1926, Müller trained at the BPI, but complained to Groddeck about the “stubborn scholastics” and this “old moth box—pardon me that’s how I always call the Berlin Association,” where the stuffy air was paralyzing the possibility of any intellectual leaps. Her presentation manuscript “On the Renunciation of the Outside World,” which concerned her theory of energetic concentration and deconcentration, was rejected by the BPI, since she was an “autodidact and nondoctor.” Müller was especially disappointed in Simmel, whom she suspected of “presidential delirium” after he assumed leadership of the BPI following Abraham’s sudden death. She described how he fielded telephone calls while listening to her paper, and how he left her with the backhanded encouragement that she still was to write many and *good* books, which Müller herself seriously doubted. Freud seems to have backed her candidacy but deferred to the rules of the Berlin Institute.

Müller’s self-stylizations as victim of the “Berlin demigods,” who only wanted to appropriate her groundbreaking discoveries, might be questioned, but her assessment that “the guild is becoming more gildy” (“Die Zunft wird immer zünftiger”) captures this period well, in which the BPI streamlined its psychoanalytic training and began to deny access to candidates who did not have formal medical training. However, Müller’s descriptions also indicate that there was still a certain degree of flexibility, depending on whether one dealt with the older or younger analysts, and that there was no consistent practice of barring lay analysts in Berlin. Theodor Reik’s legal trouble had prompted an international controversy around lay analysis and had led the New York Psychoanalytic Society to solidify its restrictive policy on lay analysis.<sup>66</sup> But Reik himself was able to come to Berlin and train analysts as late as 1928.

Groddeck advised Müller on her theoretical work, and by 1927 she was treating more patients and had even published a book containing some of her own case studies in schizophrenia and war neurosis: *Body, Soul and Spirit in the Universe: Psychoanalytical Reflections*. Drawing from a wide range of literary references, philosophical literature, and psychoanalytic theory (including Freud, Ferenczi, and Jung), she argued in Groddeck fashion for the inseparability of “psyche and soma.”<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Müller claimed to reconcile the diverging psychoanalytic

schools by focusing on the “spirit of energy” and integrating “cosmic analysis.”<sup>68</sup> Evoking energies that are “immortal in their divinity,” and reinstating the “word of the Bible” into “science,” Müller quoted both Keyserling and Groddeck in her conclusion: “The human is not only human, he is at the same time in different parts of his being animal, plant, rock and sea; only rarely does he become aware of this, and knows only to feel like a human.”<sup>69</sup> And: “Analysis is far away from being irreligious, it is a path to religion, and that means more than anything else it is.”<sup>70</sup> As Müller recognized, the connection of religion and psychoanalysis was defining for Groddeck’s and Keyserling’s intellectual relationship. I will elaborate on this relationship at a later point.

#### GRODDECK PERFORMS (AND EXORCISES) THE WANDERING JEW

The tensions between Groddeck and Freud over the id concerned not only the position of the id within the psychoanalytic model of the mind; the two men also disagreed over the id’s content. Following the psychoanalytic congress in Bad Homburg and the negative report of Freud’s Secret Committee, Groddeck visited Freud in Vienna in November 1925. Afterward, Freud wrote to Ferenczi that he liked Groddeck a lot as a person but found no use for his scholarship.<sup>71</sup> Ferenczi continued lobbying for Groddeck’s involvement with institutionalized psychoanalysis as well as for the Society of Friends, but Freud had grown disenchanted. On Ferenczi’s prompting, Freud sent Groddeck a note for his sixtieth birthday, in which his ego and id congratulated Groddeck’s id, thus making light of their theoretical differences. He later told Ferenczi that he found Groddeck’s grateful reply humorless.<sup>72</sup>

While Freud was done with Groddeck, at least theoretically, Groddeck was not done with Freud. Groddeck continued to define his own work in reference to what he perceived as Freudian tenets, even though in 1927 the reverberations from their disagreement about the nature of the id led to a three-year break in their correspondence. It is notable that, despite their vast theoretical differences, it was possible for Groddeck to continue to be considered part of the psychoanalytic movement. He frequently attended the meetings of the southern German and later, the Frankfurt group, continued his correspondence and debates with Freud, published in psychoanalytic journals, attended the congress of the German Psychoanalytic Association in 1930 in Dresden (Groddeck gave a presentation on the German children’s classic *Struwwelpeter*),

and was invited to give lectures at the British Psychoanalytic Society in 1928 and the Berlin Institute in 1930 (the latter at Felix Boehm's invitation). At the Berlin lecture, Eitingon, who seems to have changed his opinion of Groddeck after being treated by him in Baden-Baden in 1928, introduced him warmly as "one of the few artists among us psychoanalysts."<sup>73</sup> Groddeck was a contested figure of institutionalized psychoanalysis but, despite common perceptions, hardly a marginal one.

However, Groddeck actively sought new audiences for his work in the years after Bad Homburg, speaking, for example, at the Lessing-Hochschule in Berlin, the congresses of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy (Allgemeine Ärztliche Kongresse für Psychotherapie)—the latter were also attended by Horney and Simmel—and later at Keyserling's School of Wisdom.

Even very early on, Groddeck's correspondence with Freud was marked by the question of who truly belonged to the psychoanalytic movement. While Freud "claimed" Groddeck, he teased Groddeck for wondering about the limits of psychoanalytic practice: "Apparently, I would do you a big favor if I cast you away to where the Adlers, Jungs, and others stand."<sup>74</sup> From the start of their correspondence, Freud was aware of their theoretical differences and of Groddeck's "monistic inclination." Clearly, Freud chose not to read Groddeck in conjunction with Jung or Keyserling, as Margarethe Müller did a few years later, but instead focused on what Döblin had identified as the "recognition of the sexual left and right of the life of the soul." One of the case studies that Groddeck presented to Freud in his very first letter is a telling example of what Freud omitted in his reading of Groddeck's work. In this case study, Groddeck's patient suffered from bleeding of the retina, which Groddeck connected to a repressed childhood memory of throwing stones at a wooden figure of Jesus on the cross.<sup>75</sup> Freud replied that such examples were novel to psychoanalysis, but went on to admonish Groddeck to maintain the difference between the psychological and the physiological in his interpretations.<sup>76</sup> In Freud's view, elaborated in the *Interpretation of Dreams* and later in *The Uncanny*, symptoms or images of blinding stood in for the threat of castration by the father.<sup>77</sup> While Groddeck, too, analyzed the wooden cross case along these same lines, he saw another dimension to the symbol of the cross, and followed up on this idea in one of the first texts that he sent to Freud for vetting, "A Symptom Analysis."<sup>78</sup>

By Groddeck's account, Groddeck's patient, a war veteran, answered the question of why he suffered from bouts of pain in the legs as follows:



“From walking a long time. The eternal Jew walks incessantly, Ahas-ver. The name is dissected into ‘haßlos’ [without hate] and ‘verhaßt’ [hated] . . . ; the dissected syllables are arranged crosswise. Without hate and hated is Christ on the cross.” (Groddeck reads the first syllable as “a-has” and the second in reverse as “ver-has.”) Groddeck’s patient continued to associate the cross with the mother, on which the son was crucified. All suffering came from woman, whose *os sacrum* symbolized the incest wish of the son as well as the death of the phallus. Christ represented humanity, which suffered from the “problem of the mother.” After Groddeck led his patient through a series of childhood associations with *cross*, *mother*, and *femininity*, the patient returned to the word *Ahasver*. Groddeck remarked, “Ahasver taunted Christ, who was without hate and hated. Now, pay attention.” He stood up, said “funny legs” and proceeded to imitate the “atactical walk” of a syphilitic (*Tabiker*). The patient laughed, conceding that, indeed, he had taunted Christ, his father, and remarked that his pain was gone. I will return to Groddeck’s extraordinary description shortly.

In his answer, Freud questioned the existence of the patient in this “analyt. delirium,” since the patient seemed all too familiar with Groddeck’s phrasings. Groddeck revealed that the “patient” was his stepson, and that he might have influenced him unduly. He pointed out that the essential part of his essay was the interpretation of the crucifixion, and recounted that, for years, he had been carrying with him an etching by the nineteenth-century Belgian symbolist Félicien Rops, “as well as many other things from the New Testament.”<sup>79</sup> Rops’s works often evoked the pornographic and macabre, and included studies of saintly torture, syphilitic death, and hangings. Especially the series *Sataniques* (1882), which would have naturally attracted Groddeck’s interest, depicts the symbol of the cross in several settings, mostly shared by a man and a woman (both include images of phallic women). Fearing that somebody else might deal with the “Christus theme,” Groddeck admitted to taking the liberty to have his stepson voice his interpretation, and to “hide behind” Freud when it came to searching for a publication venue. Ignoring Groddeck’s request not to publish the piece after all, Freud passed it on, after adding several linguistic associations describing how a son is “fixated” on a mother to support Groddeck’s cross = mother argument.

Freud’s discomfort with the piece was not limited to what he outlined as questionable standards in regard to the “documentary character” of the analysis. While Freud insisted on a scientific framing of Groddeck’s

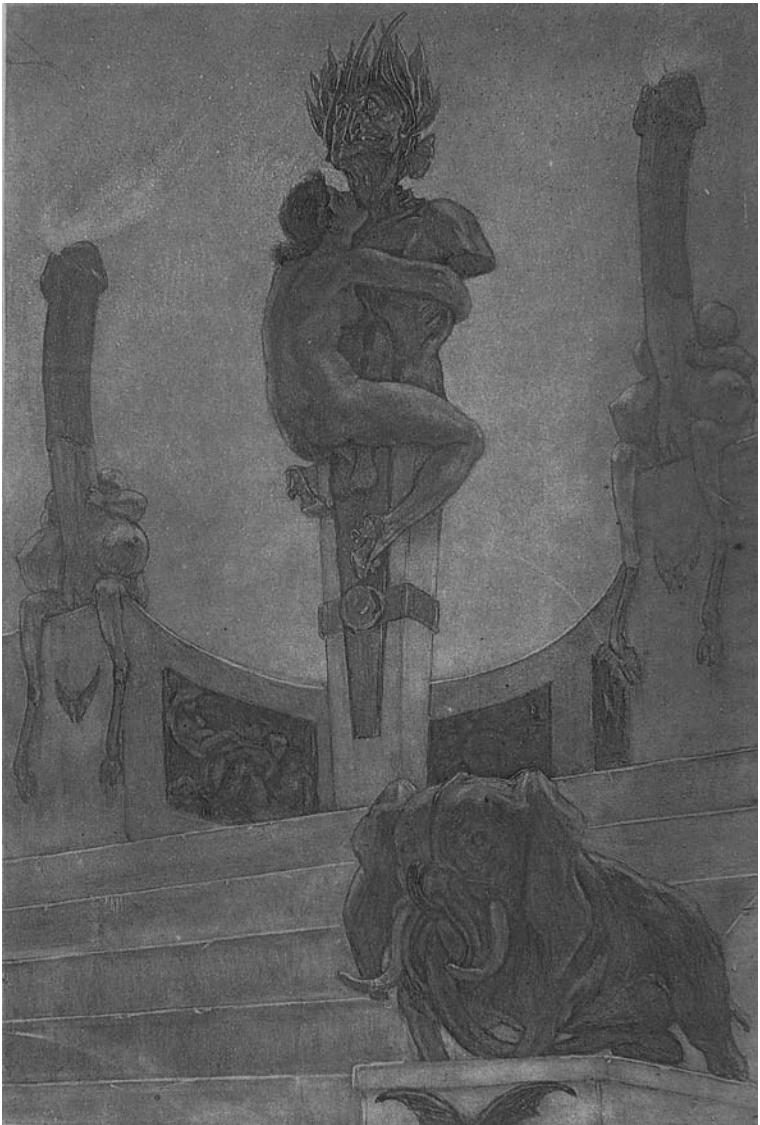
piece, surely Groddeck's performance of an anti-Semitic stereotype in an analytic situation must have raised other concerns for Freud, independent of the degree to which the whole case was a fiction. The transition from the figure of a popular legend, Ahasver (who refuses to allow Christ to rest on his way to Golgotha and is cursed to wander endlessly thereafter, the Eternal Jew and a reminder of Jewish guilt), to the figure of the cross as symbol for the mother (rather than the son) merges two forms of Christ's suffering, the suffering caused by a woman and the suffering caused by a Jew. Not only does Groddeck connect the gait of the Eternal Jew with the walk of the syphilitic in his performance, linking racial, sexual, and physiological images of degeneration, but he also performs a miracle of sorts by healing a war neurotic of his own performance of degeneration. As evidenced in his earlier writings, Groddeck clearly adopted the discourse linking modernity and degeneration (e.g., in the work of philosopher Otto Weininger) but found in the Freudian psychoanalytic setup—of all setups—a blueprint for merging this discourse with Christian imagery. It is not surprising that a few years later Groddeck declared the main goal of psychoanalysis to be the redemption of mankind, and his friend Keyserling likened his role as psychoanalyst to that of Jesus.<sup>80</sup> While Freud's defining encounter with Rome was Michelangelo's Moses, Groddeck was entranced by Michelangelo's Pietà. It is doubtful that Groddeck would ever have become the "Moses of psychosomatics," as Georg Danzer writes—if anything, he would have hoped to be its Jesus.<sup>81</sup>

Freud, who in all of his works up to that point had never so much as mentioned the cross, proceeded to read Groddeck as being too philosophical, instead of engaging with the clearly religious—that is, Christian and anti-Semitic—imagery that Groddeck's writings evoke. Rather than dealing with what was, by Groddeck's own account, the most crucial content of Groddeck's "acting out," Freud's psychoanalytic critique focused on his affect.

In private, however, Freud seems to have read Groddeck differently. In March 1922, presumably trying to understand where Groddeck was coming from, he read several of Groddeck's prepsychoanalytic, prewar works, *A Child of the Earth, Tragedy or Comedy*, and *Toward Divine Nature*, and commented to Ferenczi that he found them "very German and bad."<sup>82</sup> Given that the common denominator of Groddeck's early works was their unabashed subscription to eugenic thought and *völkisch* ideology, Freud's characterization of them as "German" did not in all likelihood address stylistic issues. It is no coincidence that



FIGURE 6. Félicien Rops, *Sacrifice* (above) and *Idole* (right). These pornographic etchings from the incomplete series *Sataniques* (1882) reflect the symbolist view of woman as a diabolic instrument. Women are simultaneously creators (mothers) and corrupters (prostitutes) of the male spirit. Rops's antibourgeois and anticlerical vision—as represented, for example, in the skeletal caricatures of cherubs on both sides of the cross in *Sacrifice*—was heavily influenced by Charles Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil*. *Sacrifice* shows the ambiguity of the depiction of



woman very much in line with some of Groddeck's work—the phallus emerges from the sacrificed woman and creates the human cross, but the phallus also penetrates and subdues her. In *Idole*, the male idol is dismembered. What is left of the spirit of antiquity and Christianity is smothered by the female embrace and flanked by two female figures with monstrous breasts, vaginas, and phalluses. In both images the human form is always already decaying, degenerate, and undead. Courtesy of Musée Félicien Rops, Namur, Belgium.

Freud mentioned Groddeck's "dangerous nuances" in the same breath as Jung's presumable theoretical impasse.<sup>83</sup> But openly acknowledging the provocation of this "enfant terrible" of institutionalized psychoanalysis as religious and racial would have meant addressing the question of Jewishness within psychoanalysis. For Freud and many of his followers, this would have meant engaging psychoanalysis on unscientific grounds. As I will elaborate in the following chapter, this fear was to have an impact on the politics surrounding the exclusion of Jews from the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute in the midthirties. An openly religious psychoanalyst like Frieda Reichmann, with her "Thorapeutikum," however, could relate to Groddeck's religious psychoanalytic setup.

While Freud, from his first letter on, positioned Groddeck where Jung "stands," he was not in a position to treat this issue overtly. The "wild analyst" Margarethe Müller, on the other hand, in addressing Groddeck as "Father Noah," the rescuer of the fauna of psychoanalytic approaches, could clearly articulate Groddeck's quest to map a decidedly mystical and spiritual unconscious—the Christian unconscious of psychoanalytic theory.

#### GRODDECK AND COUNT HERMANN VON KEYSERLING'S SCHOOL OF WISDOM

Both the integration of Christian iconography into psychoanalytic thought and the discussion of Jewishness and psychoanalysis connected Groddeck to Count Hermann von Keyserling. Keyserling and Groddeck were each at the height of their popularity when they met in Stockholm while on lecture tours in 1924. Keyserling had risen to fame with his 1919 *Travel Diary of a Philosopher* and had recently established his own teaching academy, the School of Wisdom, in Darmstadt. Groddeck was running his own sanatorium in Baden-Baden and had already authored his two popular psychoanalytic novels, *The Soul Searcher* and *The Book of the It*. Keyserling was clearly taken with Groddeck in Stockholm. In his 1958 autobiography, *Travel through the Times*, he declared Groddeck "the greatest magician among the analysts—and without question the most significant as a human being." Keyserling was fascinated by his "truly diabolic," yet at the same time kindhearted, face. Unable to articulate the moment of connection with a German expression, Keyserling resorted to English: "*My heart went out to him.*"<sup>84</sup>

After their meeting in Stockholm, an intensive intellectual collaboration ensued between the two men. Keyserling asked Groddeck to

publish in his journal, *Der Leuchter* (The Light), and invited him to his annual conferences at the School of Wisdom. Groddeck publicized Keyserling's activities in his journal, *The Ark*. They shared each other's intellectual networks: Keyserling introduced Groddeck to Jung, while Groddeck connected Keyserling with Ferenczi and Horney. Groddeck apparently had promised to rid Keyserling of his persistent leg inflammation within a week, and shortly after his return from Stockholm, Keyserling arranged to be treated by Groddeck in Baden-Baden. Keyserling wrote to Groddeck that, after having dealt with psychoanalysis intensely in the past years, he would like to find out more about the overlap of the physical and psychological processes from "a smart and competent person." While he was keen to talk about his own case, he had read Groddeck's *Book of the It* and was interested in discussing psychoanalysis in general: "The analysts which I have dealt with so far were either too stupid or too one-sided. In my case, the understanding has to be astounded by intellectuality [*Geist*]." <sup>85</sup>

The pre-World War I roman-à-clef *Baden-Baden* by Gertrud Westheim gives an impression of Groddeck's notorious shock-and-awe massage treatment and its sexualized popular image. In a scene clearly meant to parody Groddeck, Westheim's protagonist, Dr. Grobian—in English "Dr. Brute"—jumps onto his patient on a chaise longue that collapses under the full force of his rage. Close to suffocation, crying, "Eleanor clings to Dr. Grobian's fists in agony, her torso convulses, grasping for air—then she falls back exhausted." <sup>86</sup> Similarly, Keyserling claims that after virtually boiling his leg, Groddeck massaged him while analyzing his expressions of pain—according to Keyserling: sheer torture. However, as an analyst, while not speaking much, Groddeck functioned as an incredible "catalyst." <sup>87</sup> Keyserling clearly felt that these treatments were a success and wrote to Groddeck that his instinct to turn to him was right. <sup>88</sup> Keyserling and Groddeck exchanged a series of letters, a kind of analysis-by-mail that included a handwriting analysis by Groddeck and word-by-word association chains, which further fueled subsequent visits.

Their friendship and correspondence were based on their intellectual affinity. Both had been courted by the psychoanalytic movement, but both had incorporated psychoanalysis into their own practices without committing to an exclusively Freudian approach. Both were influenced by the Berlin Psychoanalytic (Groddeck more so), yet they chose to remain at a distance, in southern Germany, commenting on what they perceived as a formalization and dogmatization of the German

psychoanalytic movement. By many accounts they were both charismatic and passionate speakers who saw their performances as an integral part of the development of their theories. Both explicitly referenced eugenics and racial science in their writings and saw biology and spirituality as factors that Freudian psychoanalysis neglected to its detriment. Reflecting this critique of rational and scientific thought, both were close to the Monist movement (as were many figures of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, such as Hirschfeld and Juliusburger). They espoused a biologist conception of sex and gender, and sought intellectual debate with the women's movement and psychoanalytic theorists of femininity on issues of marriage and sexual reproduction. Both shared a fascination with the rising fascist movement. Despite Groddeck's death in 1934 and Keyserling's isolation during the years of the National Socialist regime, their positions in relationship to National Socialism call for reexamination, albeit without accusatory or exculpatory gestures.

Given that Keyserling and his works are little known today, his widespread popularity and public authority during the Weimar Republic may come as a surprise. Keyserling's discussions of the future of Europe and his accounts of his travels in the Middle East, the Americas, South Asia, and the Far East were considered vital political and philosophical interventions. The cosmopolitan philosopher corresponded with many luminaries of his time, including Henri Bergson, Georg Simmel, and Oswald Spengler. He counted Rabindranath Tagore, Ortega y Gasset, and Miguel de Unamuno among his many friends.

One of Keyserling's mentors was Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose racial theories influenced Keyserling's (as well as Groddeck's) early notion of *Völkerpsychologie*. This concept was parodied by the quick-witted chronicler of zeitgeist Kurt Tucholsky as a school contest, in which most *Völker* flunk because of their teacher Keyserling's lofty standards. Keyserling's precipitate assessment of a nation's soul was also critiqued by the Portuguese modernist Fernando Pessoa, who asserted that Portugal actually had three souls, only one of which Keyserling had in all likelihood seen.<sup>89</sup> Other essayists, such as the cultural entrepreneur Count Harry Kessler, prized Keyserling's role in creating a political vision for Germany after World War I, one based on a distinctly European ideal of universality and a nonpartisan notion of socialism as international solidarity.<sup>90</sup>

By many accounts, not only Keyserling's work but also the man himself and the seemingly boundless élan that Stefan Zweig saw in him were the object of public attention.<sup>91</sup> A popular rhyme of the day teased

that Keyserling was not as perfect as he seemed to think he was: “Als Gottes Atem leiser ging, schuf er den Grafen Keyserling!” (When God was losing his zing, he created Keyserling!)<sup>92</sup> Even a friend like Groddeck underscored the popular perception of Keyserling’s unabashed enthusiasm for his own person and projects by repeating the saying “Keyserling stands in front of himself like a kid in front of a Christmas tree.”<sup>93</sup> However, Groddeck went on to turn this phrase into a compliment by emphasizing Keyserling’s joy and awe as positive characteristics of his attitude toward the world.

A member of old nobility, Keyserling grew up on his family’s estate in Estonia and married Goedela von Bismarck, a granddaughter of the first chancellor of the Wilhelminian empire, Otto von Bismarck. After the Russian revolution, the family was dispossessed and moved to Darmstadt, where Keyserling established his School of Wisdom in 1920 with the financial help of the former grand duke Ernst Ludwig of Hessen and the written support of contemporary intellectuals and writers like Thomas Mann.

The School of Wisdom was to be more than a school. Keyserling envisioned it as the communal practice of a way of life, a *Lebensgemeinschaft*. As the “breeding ground of higher culture,” the School of Wisdom sought to create a new connection between soul and spirit (*Seele und Geist*). At its beginning, Keyserling decided to work on his own, fearing that the slightest deviation might endanger his goals. He tolerated no discussion after his lectures, since the words were to take effect in the depths of the soul and not the intellect. The School of Wisdom hosted yearly conferences, which were to create a “spiritual force field.” Under these circumstances, the School of Wisdom was deemed appropriate only for mature, deepened types that had left the “dialectics and conflicts of youth” behind.<sup>94</sup>

Besides invoking a broad philosophical and spiritual reference system that included Nietzsche, Chamberlain, and Buddha, Keyserling positioned his project close to anthroposophic thought, even though his philosophy was rejected by Rudolf Steiner, the founder of this holistic spiritual-philosophical reform movement, as “mental shortness of breath.”<sup>95</sup> In his codes of conduct and reflections on community, Keyserling also referred to Helmuth Plessner’s 1924 work *Limits of Community*, which describes social mechanisms of delineation and masquerade in relation to the self-assertion of the soul.<sup>96</sup> A groundbreaking philosopher of anthropology, Plessner was a student of the biologist-philosopher Hans Driesch, who collaborated with the School



of Wisdom. Plessner's anchoring of human consciousness in a biological notion also became, though in a more spiritually inflected iteration, an important concept in Keyserling's work.

The School of Wisdom was a truly international enterprise, and while Keyserling was not wholly free of his contemporaries' orientalism, he was a global thinker and did have a keen sense of the trendsetting topics of his time. In 1921, he organized a conference around a visit by the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore, which sparked a wave of popularity in Germany. The poet Klabund parodied how the participants of the School of Wisdom looked to Tagore in the hope that he would impart his wisdom on the most trivial issues, such as currency fluctuations and the fidelity of their spouses. Comparing Keyserling's veneration of Tagore with Keyserling's veneration of Wilhelm II, Klabund captured some of the mythologizing spirit and, despite its internationalism, nationalist tendency of Keyserling's enterprise: "He [Keyserling] had a drum standing behind him, which he beat at times, and exclaimed: 'See the only true, only authentic Buddha! Not to be confused with similar enterprises! There is only one Buddha and I am his prophet!'"<sup>97</sup>

#### KEYSERLING'S PSYCHOANALYSIS

By the time Keyserling met Groddeck, he was already in contact with many important figures in the psychoanalytic movement, such as Freud, with whom he corresponded, Jung, and Adler (both of whom lectured at the School of Wisdom). Keyserling mentions beginning his own analytic treatment in 1922 with several different analysts, including Oscar A. H. Schmitz (1873–1931), the author of *Psychoanalysis and Yoga*, and Hans von Hattingberg, who had challenged Groddeck after the 1922 Berlin congress. According to Karl Abraham, Freud referred Keyserling to Abraham for treatment during a 1925 meeting.<sup>98</sup>

Two of Keyserling's psychoanalytic contributions in particular, one written before and one after meeting Groddeck, provide a sense of Keyserling's understanding of psychoanalysis, as well as a measure of Groddeck's impact on his thought: "Psychoanalysis and Self-Perfection" (1923) and "The Healing Art and Introspection" (1924).<sup>99</sup> "Psychoanalysis and Self-Perfection" was given on the occasion of the 1923 conference at the School of Wisdom that was dedicated entirely to psychoanalysis. A lecture series by Oscar A. H. Schmitz, who was Keyserling's friend and analyst, formed the core of the conference, and Keyserling's lecture concluded it. According to Keyserling, the modern

soul was sick; especially the modern European soul was struggling to find its true expression. In this situation, the project of psychoanalysis and the project of the School of Wisdom overlapped: both sought a centering of consciousness in a deeper layer of meaning beyond the empirical self. In this way, psychoanalysis was the equivalent of the Buddhist technique of detachment (*Enthftung*). An analysis should seek not to suspend tension but to elevate it to a higher level. The ideal analyst would therefore also be a spiritual leader. Keyserling saw the schools of Freud, Adler, and Jung as partial views of a totality that had yet to be described. While Freud lead furthest in terms of empirical knowledge, and Jung lead best into philosophical understanding, Adler truly opened the path to self-perfection. Keyserling compared psychoanalysis with Christianity, since they both strove to perfect the self (*selbst*) and not the ego (*ich*): after all, Jesus taught that only those who lose their soul will attain it. In the analytic quest for meaning, mastery of the underworld of drives, as well as mastery of the higher consciousness, could be reached simultaneously.

In “The Healing Art and Introspection,” Keyserling praises Groddeck as the most impartial of all analysts and gives his approach a prominent role—for example, he emphasizes the personal connection between doctor and patient. “Under all circumstances a patient heals, if at all, by himself,” wrote Keyserling in a reflection of Groddeck’s medical philosophy; “no doctor is able to do more than support the patient’s will to healing.”<sup>100</sup> For Keyserling, body and soul were expressions of a deeper meaning (he termed it the *Lebensmonade*, or “life monad,” a center of consciousness in Hindu philosophy, which was also an important influence on the early-twentieth-century wave of Monism). Keyserling’s concept of the life monad echoed Groddeck’s concept of the id as the single spiritual force behind the mind and body—a concept that just one year earlier had been challenged by the model Freud had outlined in *The Ego and the Id*. In claiming that Freud had appropriated Groddeck’s idea of resistance and incorporated it into his drive theory (and also reminding Freud of his debt to the French psychologist Pierre Janet), Keyserling took Groddeck’s side in the debate with Freud, which revolved not only around the id but ultimately also around the question of original authorship.

Keyserling returned to the problem of modernity and disease, but now specified that Jews suffered most from repression, which is why, he concluded, psychoanalysis was more successful “on Jewish soil.” Keyserling’s big concern with psychoanalysis, however—and here he

clearly differed from Groddeck—was that its emphasis on sexuality and drives led to sexual corruption, especially in women, and at times also in the “swine that lies within the doctor.”<sup>101</sup> A purely positivist psychoanalysis could not create new meaning, Keyserling worried, and in a worst-case scenario it could turn the human back into an animal. It needed to place itself within the “spiritual cosmos” as a device to understand the human “underworld” as well as the spiritual life that connected us to everything mortal. Ideally, it would be obsolete by the next generation.

The moral qualms that Keyserling expressed in regard to sexuality were most certainly not shared by Groddeck, and while, in their psychoanalytic views, both men attempted to integrate spirituality and religion, they achieved this through very different means. Groddeck characterized psychoanalysis as parallel to religious salvation, while Keyserling saw its current practice as the opposite.<sup>102</sup> However, despite their differences, Groddeck enjoyed reading Keyserling’s essay, and noted that his “play” with the id had little to do with psychoanalysis as a clinical practice, which he found confirmed by the reaction of the psychoanalytic establishment.<sup>103</sup> For example, Theodor Reik had written a damning critique in *Imago* of Keyserling’s previous essay “Psychoanalysis and Self-Perfection” based on Keyserling’s consideration of Jung’s and Adler’s work as psychoanalytic and on the same level as Freud’s.<sup>104</sup> While this critique seems to mirror the view of many psychoanalysts—even a popularizer like Ferenczi wrote to Freud that somebody like Keyserling had the potential to sell psychoanalysis “by the barrel”—Keyserling and Freud were friendly, they corresponded, and Keyserling visited Freud on occasion.<sup>105</sup> In May 1925, Keyserling wrote to Groddeck that he had spent four dramatic hours with Freud and found him “full of the fear of death,” and that, despite Freud’s cancer diagnosis, he seemed defiant of any “supra-analytical reality.”<sup>106</sup> At the same time, Keyserling was in much closer contact with Jung and mediated Groddeck’s encounter with Jung at the School of Wisdom.

Given Keyserling’s vast intellectual network, it is not surprising that his vision of psychoanalysis had international reach. His work had a strong impact on Roberto Assagioli (1888–1974), a former assistant of Eugen Bleuler at the Swiss clinic Burghölzli and one of the first Italian psychoanalysts. Like Keyserling, Assagioli was also closely connected to Buber, Tagore, and Jung and went on to develop his own decidedly nonscholastic conception of “psychosynthesis,” which—drawing on psychobiology—assumed a psychological osmosis between the

unconscious and its psychic environment while, at the same time, calling for the scientific exploration of mystic and religious experiences.<sup>107</sup>

#### ‘DESTINY AND FORCE’: PSYCHOANALYSIS AND JESUS

In 1925, Groddeck came to the School of Wisdom not only as a participant but also as a lecturer. His lecture “Destiny and Force” (“Schicksal und Zwang”) represents an important theoretical juncture for Groddeck: “When I wrote the essay, I wrote it with this feeling: now I have turned back onto the path that I left fifteen years ago.”<sup>108</sup> At that point, Groddeck had started to study Freudian psychoanalytic literature (however, at first very critically, as mentioned above—in 1913 he still spoke of psychoanalysis as a “poison”). In *Toward Divine Nature*, which Freud had dismissed as “very German,” Groddeck had laid out ideas on the ego and the id similar to what he elaborated in his 1925 School of Wisdom lecture: “There is no I, it is a lie, a distortion, to say: I think, I live. It should say: it thinks, it lives. It, namely, the great mystery of the world. There is no I.”<sup>109</sup> For the early Groddeck, the I was a falsehood embedded in language, an illusory composite of millions of small I’s. In “Destiny and Force,” Groddeck described the psychoanalytic apparatus of the mind as a projection out of the human condition, since being human incorporated one’s destiny. The idea of an individual ego was complete fiction—after all, it emerged only in the third year of child development.

Groddeck’s concept of the id is somewhat more complex. The id exists outside of the individual, but it also represents a human attempt to believe in order. Groddeck reminded the audience of Hans Driesch’s argument that there was no freedom, with the exception of the freedom to say no. To Groddeck, Driesch could derive this freedom from his human condition and the rule of the id, and therefore Groddeck’s own attempt to believe in order and necessity (*Notwendigkeit*) was an expression of his own human condition and, moreover, obedience to the id.<sup>110</sup> The id forces us to know that there is no free will, as much as it forces us to believe that there is. Groddeck offered a solution to deal with this tension: like children we play with life, seriously and soulfully, and pretend to take force for free will. Groddeck closed his lecture with the New Testament: “The saying: Unless you become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven, has an irresistible attraction to me.”<sup>111</sup> Jesus, as the final authority on the id, transcended Groddeck’s dialectics (of sorts) into regression.

While this lecture, with its philosophical embedding of psychoanalysis and an existential approach to the id, shows the impact of Groddeck's dialogue with Keyserling, it also represents Groddeck's answer to Freud's *The Ego and the Id*, an answer that Groddeck was not able to present at length to Freud directly—either in Bad Homburg or in his letters. The espousal of Christian imagery in “Groddeck's gospel,” as Peter Rudnytsky has elegantly described it, served a symbolic purpose.<sup>112</sup> But the question remains whether Groddeck's project stopped there. Groddeck's psychoanalytic and philosophical deployment of Jesus, especially in connection with Groddeck's involvement with the School of Wisdom, can be read, even if it is not an expression of personal religiosity, as a religious and racial challenge to Freudian psychoanalysis, as in Groddeck's performance of Ahasver.

Groddeck's use of Jesus evokes Jung, who had described religions as psychotherapeutic systems that create images for the soul, and who considered Jesus the representation of the *imago Dei*—the personification of the archetype of self.<sup>113</sup> Groddeck had been keen to meet Jung at Keyserling's 1927 conference on psychoanalysis at the School of Wisdom, but he grew increasingly suspicious of Jung's interpretations and his “*jungmutige* mythology.”<sup>114</sup>

Keyserling, on the other hand, was devoted to Jung and incorporated much of Jung's vocabulary into his own writing. In retrospect, he described the influence of this “paleontologist of the soul” as being on a par with Chamberlain's, because Jung taught him to understand his own “type” as a special expression of the universal.<sup>115</sup> However, in his autobiography, which he wrote during the National Socialist years, and which was published only after his death in 1947, Keyserling saw the “alchemist” Jung and his mythologies more critically, and maintained that there was after all ultimately no path from psychoanalysis to religion.<sup>116</sup> Back in 1926, however, Keyserling saw a direct link between the two in Groddeck—the Jesus of psychoanalysis.<sup>117</sup>

#### ANALYZING EACH OTHER AND EACH OTHER'S ANALYSTS

The intellectual relationship between Groddeck and Keyserling was intensified by the fact that Groddeck also treated Keyserling. As Keyserling had hoped, the treatment became a ground for debate on psychoanalysis in general. Two months after Keyserling's first treatment, when Groddeck failed to deliver an article for *Der Leuchter* in time,

Keyserling playfully challenged their roles: "You will surely allow me to tell you something 'doctorly' on my part: your aversion to binding yourself to written expression, which means the same as your knowing-less-and-less + your technique of saying as little as possible as a doctor, is less the consequence of senility or laziness than of fear."<sup>118</sup>

Keyserling suggested that Groddeck feared bringing his knowledge of "original secrets" to full consciousness, and that he masked this fear with his call for regression to childhood, with his predilection for irony and persiflage, and finally, with his "overemphasis of the lowest expressions of life," by which he meant Groddeck's infamous vulgarity. Groddeck should stop renouncing his expertise and finally give birth to the essay he had promised Keyserling. Groddeck replied with amusement: "It seems to me that our game has shifted. You are taking over my role, and I have nothing against being the patient. You just have to tell me how to do this."<sup>119</sup> Groddeck felt that Keyserling completely understood his approach: to let the patient lead the doctor. Keyserling's attempts to turn Groddeck into "something philosopher-like" would thus show results later, but for now Groddeck was inclined to reaffirm his therapeutic role that Keyserling's id seemed to demand. Keyserling countered teasingly that Groddeck would become an important philosopher, and congratulated himself on Groddeck's seeming tolerance of role reversals—at least once in a while. He then gently proceeded to put Groddeck in his place in regard to his symptoms: "Not every disease happens for your benefit or for your harm."<sup>120</sup>

At times the correspondence between Keyserling and Groddeck reads like one that was conducted between more than just two people. In addition to their wives, several other analysts were also present in spirit, and in some instances the letters of these others appeared in the correspondence. In 1928, for example, Keyserling sent letters written by Jung and Oscar A. H. Schmitz to Groddeck for interpretation. Schmitz, who had been trained by Abraham, had analyzed Keyserling and his wife and had mediated Keyserling's contact with Jung, whom he worshipped and whose work he promoted.<sup>121</sup> Groddeck provided extended diagnoses of these analysts' interpretations and motivations while the analysts were still providing Keyserling with treatment. While Groddeck looked more kindly on Schmitz's attempts to "rescue" Keyserling psychologically, he provided damning statements about the "born schoolmaster" Jung: "He doesn't love and he doesn't have any hunger for love."<sup>122</sup> Picking up on Jung's bon mot that Keyserling could only be analyzed by a continent, Groddeck expressed his hope that once Keyserling recognized

the child within himself, he would not be satisfied with a continent but would create his own worlds. And in Groddeck's eyes, some of Jung's interpretations were "simply stupid," especially when it came to readings of the mother figure.<sup>123</sup>

Of course, Keyserling also discussed Groddeck with the other analysts in his life, who in turn did their share of more or less subtle Groddeck-bashing. For example, Schmitz likened Groddeck to the giant Cyclops Polyphem—with only one eye, which "served as the sensory organ for humankind before the development of the cerebrum." Groddeck's relationship to the School of Wisdom was that of Polyphem to Odysseus, except for the fact that in the end nobody would be blinded or eaten alive.<sup>124</sup> Keyserling himself resorted to ambivalent metaphors when writing to his earlier analyst, Schmitz, about his treatment with Groddeck. While he praised Groddeck as a "magician" who proved Hattingberg's interpretations to be completely wrong, he also described him as a rejected, yet prolific, author who "sprays books like a skunk, to rescue himself, or like an octopus, to hide himself."<sup>125</sup>

The correspondence between Keyserling and Groddeck is deeply intimate, yet even in its intimacy it reveals theoretical and pragmatic concerns in regard to Freudian psychoanalysis. Keyserling's dreams and associations were populated by psychoanalysts. In the figure of the dragon slayer (Saint George), Groddeck suspected his own appearance in Keyserling's associative imagery. However, he encouraged Keyserling to trust his own interpretations rather than just accepting his: "I think that your interpretations are right; whether they are complete, remains to be revealed. As a result of all this, I don't lead you there, neither to your father nor anywhere else. My task is that of a man who seeks a needle with a blindfold over his eyes. Apparently, the artificially blind [man] leads the seeing, but in truth he only follows the most unwitting movements of resistance of the seeing."<sup>126</sup>

The image of the analyst who chooses to be blind in order to intuit the analysand's movements of resistance is a crucial image for Groddeck's understanding of the analyst's role. As much as Groddeck could be, as Freud claimed, "overwhelming" in his therapeutic approach, effectively squashing all resistance (and quite literally so as described by Gertrud Westheim in *Baden-Baden*), he also believed in retreating as an analyst and letting the resistance guide the analysis. The dragon slayer is not the only figure who appears in Keyserling's associations, which map psychoanalysis onto the world of saints, the Nibelungen epos, and Greek myth. In one letter, Groddeck interpreted the figure of Hagen,

murderer of the hero Siegfried in the *Nibelungenlied*, as Hattingberg (who also makes an appearance as Orest, the avenger of his father and murderer of his mother). In the figure of Wotan, the ruler of gods in Richard Wagner's opera version of the Nibelungen saga, Groddeck recognized Freud.<sup>127</sup>

In the analysis-by-mail generated by Keyserling's initial 1924 treatment in Baden-Baden, Keyserling wrote to Groddeck that as a child he had only loved his father. While his drive structure was that of his mother, his relationship to her was cool—he saw nothing more than a guardian in his mother. Besides describing scenes of marital violence between his parents, Keyserling also related the history of his physiological problems that dated back to his childhood—his fixation on the intestinal realm becomes a sign for identification with his mother. Prompted by Groddeck to talk with his mother about his childhood, Keyserling remembered life on the rural Estonian estate, which included the slaughter of elks—a traumatic event that helped explain his sense of kinship with animals, to whom he related more than to humans.<sup>128</sup>

Groddeck replied by repeating and underlining Keyserling's own words and providing a dictionary of his language. He claimed that Keyserling's assertion that he loved only his father felt like an attempt to convince himself of this: "Besides, you spent nine months in the body of your mother, which is after all a proof of love."<sup>129</sup> Surprisingly, he also reminded Keyserling that the father and mother were not the only factors, perhaps not even the most important factors, in childhood. This question of the roles of the father and mother recurred throughout the years of their correspondence. In 1928, Groddeck chastised Keyserling, who was known to drink, that his place was neither on a continent nor in a glass of schnapps but in himself. Groddeck saw Keyserling's fear of starvation as an expression of psychological starvation. Supporting the reading of Keyserling's wife, who took his starvation fear for "inner insecurity" and "lack of faith in God," Groddeck wrote: "Hence, she wants to express the same thing that I am thinking of. But, God rests within us, each of us is a creating God, singular and alone, and so he starves sometimes. However, there will always be mothers who will offer their breasts as sources of nourishment. We just don't know that we're drinking."<sup>130</sup> Groddeck encouraged Keyserling to become a child, but also to get in touch with his inner father: "Christ says: I and the father are one. That applies not only to him. We constantly beget ourselves."<sup>131</sup>

Evaluating his analysis by Groddeck in 1928, Keyserling wrote to Jung that he felt great guilt for his hatred of his mother, which stemmed



from her marriage to the children's tutor shortly after his father's death. But Groddeck helped him to understand that the true wellspring of his guilt was his not having avenged his father.<sup>132</sup> Jung provided a different reading of Keyserling's condition, which he saw as a problem that originated in his feeling closer to the realm of spirit than to the realm of body: "You identify with the eternally creating, restless, and nefarious God in yourself, therefore you see past anything personal." Jung related this to his own disdain for the social sphere, for being a *Mitmensch*.<sup>133</sup> Similarly to Groddeck, Jung saw Keyserling's feelings toward his mother as an "insult to nature," and read his recurrent dream that his father was still alive as a demand for the recognition of the paternal. However, where Groddeck saw the son and father as one, Jung made a clear distinction between the "logos of the son" as heroic, brusque declaration, and the "logos of the father" as education and leadership. As Jung saw it, Keyserling needed to recover only the latter.<sup>134</sup>

In a letter to Groddeck shortly thereafter, Keyserling contradicted both Jung's and Groddeck's interpretations. Still admitting a longing for "fatherdom" in 1932, but slightly irked by Groddeck's focus on this issue in one of his dream interpretations, Keyserling wrote that he was "hostile to paternity, since I ultimately lay claim only to the 'crazy' spirit. Therefore, in my language this dream doesn't really signify longing for a paternal logos, but the formation of another continent [*Erde-Teil*] inside me. . . . Of course, father and mother therefore mix inside me." Dating his letter very consciously on the "Sunday of Pentecost"—the day on which the Holy Spirit manifested itself in the apostles—Keyserling wrote that a creator-phallus seemed absurd to him. He had been taught that "in the beginning was woman," which to him meant "in the beginning was nonspirit [*Nicht-Geist*]." <sup>135</sup>

## WOMEN AND RACE

While Groddeck and Keyserling did not see eye to eye on the issue of the mother, their conceptions of femininity were not very far apart. Groddeck's notion of femininity became an important point of departure for psychoanalytic theorists like Karen Horney and Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, who in turn influenced a whole new generation of feminist psychoanalytic thought in the United States. Groddeck supported Horney in her development of an alternative to Freud's psychoanalytic theory of femininity that was to be based on biological differences between men and women (e.g., in the idea of womb envy). Horney herself credited

Groddeck with sparking her critique of an inherent female penis envy and quoted him as saying, “If the It wanted women to have penises, they would have them.”<sup>136</sup> In 1926, Groddeck wrote to Horney in Berlin that the time of big psychoanalytic discoveries was not yet over:

One sees how right you are in that all questions also have to be considered from the perspective of the woman. . . . The more unbiased and skeptically one approaches the circumstances, the better, and that you finally, and as far as I know, as the first one[,] clearly say: women see these issues differently from men, is very good. . . . With all my heart I can only confirm that the castration complex is different for men and for women. . . . If there were only more women—and men—with a free outlook.<sup>137</sup>

While Groddeck’s writing after his embrace of Freudian psychoanalysis focused more on the centrality of the mother figure, his approach to femininity before World War I is an idiosyncratic mixture of the feminist, misogynist, and racist elements that reemerged in his encounter with Keyserling. As early as his 1902 essay “A Women’s Problem,” Groddeck had warned against the “specter of feminization.”<sup>138</sup> His 1910 lecture “Woman and the Future of the People” presents a particularly good example of the conflicting tendencies in Groddeck’s vision of femininity, which is only in parts reminiscent of Otto Weininger’s work on sexual difference, since Groddeck speaks more affirmatively about the power of womanhood.<sup>139</sup> Like many of his talks at the time, this lecture took place before a large, enthusiastic audience. In the context of lobbying for maternity leave, Groddeck vehemently opposed the early women’s movement and its insistence on self-realization, because he believed that the movement presented women as slaves, rather than as “fate’s masters.” As Groddeck saw it, woman ruled life, the world, and the future of the population. Her central task was to assume the mother’s role: giving birth to and educating her children, in whom she should instill a sense of duty to the state and the population, as well as the consciousness that man was a tool of God’s nature. However, in order to successfully educate future citizens, woman must be present and represented in all aspects of public life—she should not be confined to the house. While Groddeck believed that great deeds were the domain of men, he conceded that he might be wrong. Despite his arguing for the maternal obligation of women, Groddeck not only insisted on women’s participation in public life but also stated that, even without children, woman was the center of life.

Groddeck’s talk of 1910 also identified women’s role as part of a eugenic project. It took a racist turn once he discussed the Germanic population as an endangered species. Asia was already lost to the

Mongols, Berlin had become Slavic (maybe even 60 percent, if the newspapers were to be believed), and the population was being poisoned by mixed marriages and foreign elements. (In another instance, Groddeck also objected to the infiltration of the German homeland, the *Heimat*, by Jewish peddlers.)<sup>140</sup> Mixing with a foreign race was a sin against nature, especially when it came to non-European races, who were closer to apes than to humans. Like Keyserling's early mentor Chamberlain, Groddeck believed that the Germanic race didn't exist a priori, but had to be bred. Therefore, women should fight for the eugenic cause, and the criminal and the disabled should not be able to procreate. To Groddeck, marriage was about "the aristocracy of the blood" and, therefore, mainly a question about when and whom a girl was allowed to love. Groddeck's talk picked up on his 1909 book *Toward Divine Nature*, in which Groddeck had denounced woman's hunger for happiness as a serious danger to the purity of the European race, since it was woman who exposed European blood to the "Japanese, Chinese, and Negroes."<sup>141</sup>

The feminist Hedwig Dohm reproached Groddeck for stripping women of their personalities by describing them as Divine Nature (*Gottnatur*) in contrast to the grounded men: "A woman without personality! That sounds like an advertisement for a carnival or panopticon. A woman without an abdomen is quite a show-stopper in the panopticon. The personality of a human being is the skin of the soul. This gent skins the woman in cold blood."<sup>142</sup> Dohm critiqued the very nature of Groddeck's vision of femininity as a disembodiment, which became an empowering point of departure for the first generation of feminist psychoanalysts, who focused on the sexual difference between male and female bodies and on motherhood. While early feminists like Dohm, Alice Salomon, and Gertrud Bäumer saw Groddeck's insistence on motherhood as limiting, most of them did not oppose his eugenic thought, as Wolfgang Martynkewicz has pointed out in his biography of Groddeck.<sup>143</sup>

While Groddeck's post-World War I writings on femininity were not as overtly eugenic and racist, they were still informed by their origins. The French scholar Roger Lewinter has called attention to the anti-Semitism contained in a 1931 text Groddeck published in the journal *Psychoanalytic Movement*.<sup>144</sup> In this essay, "Human Bisexuality," Groddeck extended Freud's idea of a psychological bisexuality to apply to organs, as well as to organic mechanisms such as breathing.<sup>145</sup> Like man himself, the male sexual organ contained both the masculine and the feminine element, since the opening of the foreskin symbolized the vagina. Therefore, Groddeck argued, in an interesting reversal

of the dominant contemporary anti-Semitic imagery, which commonly depicted the male Jew as feminized, that the Jewish practice of circumcision repressed femininity. The Jew was female-male (*Weibmann*) like any other man—his pleasant and unpleasant specificities were an effect of this repression, not an essential characteristic. All European culture was dominated by the Jewish “repression goal” of bisexuality. In the long run, psychoanalysis’ preoccupation with the unconscious would make it impossible to ignore the primordial principle of bisexuality. Psychoanalysis would ultimately turn out to be “disastrous” to anything Jewish. Though not explicit on this point, Groddeck’s text suggests that an essentially Jewish psychoanalysis ultimately undermines its own foundation, the Jewish cultural rule of monosexuality.

In a different regard, the impact of Chamberlain’s thought is also notable in Keyserling’s writing on race and the German nation and in his vision of the human psyche and psychoanalysis. In 1922, in the wake of World War I, Keyserling wrote that the idea of the nation-state had become untenable.<sup>146</sup> Nationalism could only be possible on the basis of a European consciousness. In his praise of the work of Rabbinic scholar Leo Baeck, Keyserling described anti-Semitism as a biological given and part of the natural competition between peoples, but “foolish” as an ideology. The persecution of Jews would be an act of stupidity, and, ultimately, a betrayal of Germanness. To Keyserling, Jews were of the highest breed of people (*hochgezüchtet*). In contrast to the anti-Semitic stereotype of his time, Keyserling did not connect the idea of a highly selected population with inbreeding. Instead he described what he saw as a Jewish model of eugenics that should be a model to the Germans—ostensibly based not on blood but on spirit. Germans should not become Jews, but should breed like Jews.<sup>147</sup> Similarly, in a *Leuchter* article from 1924, Keyserling postulated that people were determined not by race or blood but by their attitudes. In a later reaction to the rise of the National Socialist movement in the early thirties, which the aristocratic Keyserling saw as an irrational, petit bourgeois force, he wrote that the Germans were not Nordic but a mixed people (*Mischvolk*): “Only a small percentage of Germans, even among those who are committed to National Socialism, are Nordic anywhere other than in their imagination.”<sup>148</sup> For Keyserling, the idea of racial purity was linked to biological survival and caste thinking, but not (or not yet) to a biological reality.

Keyserling seemed uncomfortable with theories that overtly sought to establish the racial or psychological inferiority of Jews. In 1926, his

analyst, Schmitz, enthusiastically brought forth such a theory in a letter to Keyserling, in which he described how Jews suffered mentally from the fact that they never acknowledged the biggest human experience of progress, the coming of Christ.<sup>149</sup> Since the Messiah could never be a reality for the Jews, they had to deny what existed. They repressed their mistake and overcompensated for their stubbornness by creating progress without substance, such as liberalism or socialism. Keyserling seemed embarrassed by this line of thought and, evading a more extensive discussion, deemed it “witty” but feared that it was simply wrong.<sup>150</sup>

## BOOKS OF MARRIAGE

As in Groddeck’s work, Keyserling’s racial thought was linked to his theories of sexes and sexuality. In 1925, he edited a collection titled *The Book of Marriage*, which was to present a harmony of contemporary voices on the subject of matrimony. The collection included a wide range of essays on the meaning and current status of marriage, by, for example, psychoanalysts Hans von Hattingberg, Jung, and Adler, and writers such as Thomas Mann, Jakob Wassermann, and Ricarda Huch, and School of Wisdom participants, including the poet Rabindranath Tagore and the theologian Leo Baeck. The volume presented an important intervention in a discussion that lay at the heart of the modernist debate on sex, sexuality, and gender roles. This discussion was triggered by the political progress of the women’s movement in the aftermath of World War I, the increasing availability and acceptance of birth control, and a reevaluation of morals within big city life. In 1924, the writer Hugo Bettauer captured this moment as an “erotic revolution,” in which everything could be rearranged.<sup>151</sup> While alternative models of marriage such as the “companionate marriage” were debated, popular culture picked up on the trend—for example, Jakob Wassermann’s 1925 novel about a divorce lawyer, *Laudin und die Seinen*, and the 1929 feature film *Crisis* starring Brigitte Helm, which teasingly evoked discussions of marital libertinage, but ultimately reasserted the traditional concept of marriage.<sup>152</sup> Helene Stöcker, the founder of the Coalition for Maternity Protection (Bund für Mutterschutz) and collaborator with the BPI, suggested in 1930 that all these different proposals for marriage reform, be they trial marriage, four-party marriage, or no marriage at all, were unimportant in light of the question of the nature of the human being living in marriage, and that this question was at the very heart of the many contributions to the debate.<sup>153</sup>

In the 1929 essay collection *Woman of Tomorrow—As We Wish Her to Be*, novelist Robert Musil, flirting with Adlerian physiological traits to describe female types of the past, declared that modern woman had grown tired of being an ideal to man.<sup>154</sup> Concern for the mother (and its accompanying eugenic discourse) featured prominently in a contribution by the dramatist Hans Henny Jahnn, which echoed Groddeck in its claim that woman gives birth to humanity. However, in its capitalist critique, which combined the glorification of the primitive with warnings of racial hatred, Jahnn's essay gave eugenics a special twist by calling for a wife's right to a lover as compensation for the pain of giving birth.<sup>155</sup> In the same volume, the Dadaist and later psychoanalyst Richard Huelsenbeck declared support of the modern woman a necessary expression of modern times and questioned whether the institution of marriage was really endangered, since it was still carried by a strong conservative wave.<sup>156</sup>

Huelsenbeck's mention of a strong conservative wave likely referred to Keyserling's internationally popular *Book of Marriage*, which included two lengthy essays by Keyserling titled "The Properly Posed Problem of Marriage" and "Choosing the Right Spouse."<sup>157</sup> Citing Jung's and Adler's work on the ideal image of self and of life, as well as the Talmud's call for communal responsibility, Keyserling described marriage as a "community of destiny" (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*) and a spiritual work of art. His idea of marriage as a high form of spiritual life was based on the irresolvable tensions of lower life, such as the drives. Marriage served the purpose of spiritual as well as racial breeding. Occasionally mixing the lower with the higher was an important aspect of this breeding, as long as it produced a more elevated race or souls. Like the early Groddeck, Keyserling strongly advocated eugenic population control in this context. Women, who should be virginal at least in spirit, needed to be elevated intellectually in a marriage, while men, who should be anything but virginal before marrying, were deficient in the realm of emotion. At the same time—in contrast to Groddeck—Keyserling lauded the women's movement and appealed to his readers to recognize the woman as equal in a marriage. Keyserling saw the maternal wife as a guarantor of a marriage's success. In fact, the choice of spouse was a matriarchal affair ruled by the instincts of woman.

In a 1932 letter to an anonymous troubled "wife," Groddeck confirms some of Keyserling's assumptions but also mirrors the pessimism that infused Freud's early view on marriage, such as those in the essays "Civilized Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness" and "Contributions to

the Psychology of Love.”<sup>158</sup> Similar to Freud, who thought that men and women entered marriage at different developmental stages, Groddeck argued that the different psychological needs and expectations that the sexes bring into marriage spell trouble. The woman expects a hero, the man expects a mother—the sexes are essentially mismatched.

Karen Horney picked up Keyserling’s investigation of marriage and proposed her own psychoanalytic answer: “We can now better answer the question that Keyserling has recently raised anew: What is it that prompts people to get married in spite of the frequency of marital unhappiness through the ages and of the bondage rather than satisfaction it brings to the individual from the standpoint of self-interest? Apparently the deepest driving forces are not at all conscious but are rather unconscious, unreal, and as it were irrational expectations of happiness.”<sup>159</sup>

According to Horney, these unconscious forces operate despite experience and reflection. Horney’s contribution was one of three in another competing marriage book, *Marriage: Its Physiology, Psychology, Hygiene, and Eugenics* (1927), edited by the sexologist Max Marcuse (1877–1963). Marcuse was an early collaborator of Stöcker’s on the journal *Mutterschutz* and editor of the journal *Sexual Problems*. In a follow-up article from 1932, “Problems of Marriage,” Horney gave an even less hopeful account and further subverted Keyserling’s vision of marriage as a spiritual breeding ground: “It is not necessary to have been schooled in Freud’s ideas in order to recognize that the emptiness of a marriage is not due to simple fatigue, but is the result of hidden destructive forces, which were secretly at work and which have undermined its foundations; that it is simply the seed sprouting on the fertile soil of disappointments, distrust, hostility and hatred.”<sup>160</sup>

Horney proposed that inner attitudes toward the opposite sex, as well as the choice of the right partner, would determine the outcome of a marriage; conflicting desires projected onto the partner would wreck it. A decade earlier Döblin, who like Horney was a board member of the Berlin group of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, had also questioned the possibility of a love marriage due to its largely unconscious motivations: “If one relates marriage too closely to love, both suffer.”<sup>161</sup> Döblin, in his discussion of the 1922 psychoanalytic congress in Berlin, concluded that a person’s character could be read as a history of object choices. Too many identifications could lead to multiple personalities, to a “fragmentation of the ego.”<sup>162</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, Döblin’s *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* illustrated this process as a largely unconscious choice based on Oedipal reenactment,

where marriage goes awry because of a lack of education and social alternatives. Given Döblin's involvement with the BPI, it would not be too far-fetched to assume that Horney was familiar with his work.

As in Döblin's *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, psychoanalytic discussions of marriage and sexuality at the time led to discussions of homosexuality. In a letter to Groddeck in 1923, Karen Horney picked up on this issue and questioned whether homosexuality really was more widespread among women, as psychoanalytic theory suggested. She considered its manifestations not so much directly related to an object but as less repressed in women, and connected it to a better sense of self-esteem in women: "Why does the man so *emphasize* his superiority? I find it so typical that, for example, only the penis-envy phenomenon is considered, but its anchor in the Oedipus complex is overlooked."<sup>163</sup> According to Horney, the Oedipus complex in men included a greater degree of insecurity and vulnerability in their self-esteem.

Groddeck was perceived as an open-minded analyst in regard to sexual orientation. When the Italian psychoanalyst Eduardo Weiss referred Bruno Veneziani to Groddeck, who had already been in treatment with Freud and Abraham, among others, Freud justified his recommendation of Groddeck with the statement that he was an "overwhelming, therapeutically effective person." The patient chose to "maintain" his homosexuality, while agreeing to an "overpowering therapy," and Groddeck appears to have accepted this premise.<sup>164</sup> In the following year, Ernest Jones inquired of Freud's Secret Committee whether a homosexual doctor could become a member of a psychoanalytic institute. Jones made clear that he was inclined to deny the application, and Abraham also stated that it was not possible to conduct a training analysis on a homosexual to the depth necessary for this person to become an analyst.<sup>165</sup> At that point the BPI still listed homosexuality as a condition treated in its polyclinic, as in the case of an eighteen-year-old pianist who was "healed" after a year and a half of therapy.<sup>166</sup> The practice of treating homosexuality was continued by some Berlin analysts in exile, such as at the Palestine Psychoanalytic Association.<sup>167</sup>

#### LETTERS TO HITLER

From 1931 onward Groddeck struggled with heart problems and weak spells and was forced to curtail his professional activities. His sanatorium was closed over increasingly longer periods of time. In 1932, he wrote to Keyserling that he had been very sick while writing *Man as*



*Symbol*, which was published by the International Psychoanalytic Press in 1933. In the meantime Keyserling had mapped his own “grounds and abysses” onto his topography of travel in his 1931 *South American Meditations*. Intimating to Jung that he was writing the “phenomenology of the third day of creation,” the separation of water from earth, Keyserling wrote a meditation on the impossibility of reconciling the spirit with that which exists (*das Bestehende*).<sup>168</sup> In his final passage Keyserling evoked Jesus, who wanted to fulfill rather than unmake the existing. However, it was in the nature of spirit to struggle with the recognition of the existing. Groddeck wrote to assure him: “Incidentally, I believe that you always were yourself, and always will remain yourself.”<sup>169</sup> But Groddeck did not engage further with Keyserling’s book, and Keyserling in turn could not relate to Groddeck’s *Man as Symbol*, which discussed the creation of symbols as an essential human drive.<sup>170</sup>

There are conflicting reports regarding Groddeck’s position on National Socialism, as well as regarding his mental health in the last months of his life, but it appears that, despite the National Socialist ban of *The Soul Searcher* and *The Book of the It*, Groddeck remained fascinated by Hitler. He saw in Hitler a physician of humanity, a healer of the *Volkskörper* (the body politic), and a man who was “full of God.” He called on all of his friends to see Leni Riefenstahl’s 1933 propaganda film *Victory of Faith*, which he deemed a work of utmost importance.<sup>171</sup> In early 1933, the Berlin psychoanalyst Felix Boehm asked Groddeck, who was still a member of the BPI, to state his opinion about a potential change in institute leadership. As I discuss in the following chapter, Boehm and Carl Müller-Braunschweig believed that the BPI would have a better chance of survival if the Jewish board were replaced, and thus lobbied for a new board while the current director, Max Eitingon, was traveling and oblivious to these developments. Groddeck wrote that he agreed with this change, reasoning it was best to accommodate the circumstances. However, he doubted that his judgment really mattered, since he had not been in touch with the BPI for years, and since he had no grasp of any public or political matters.<sup>172</sup> This seems to be an understatement for somebody who had been involved for decades in local politics and had frequently addressed many different types of audiences as an eminent public figure. It is likely that Groddeck chose to be involved as little as possible in this potentially explosive matter.<sup>173</sup> Writing and speaking until the last days of his life despite severe health problems, Groddeck died in Zurich in June 1934 after delivering a lecture on vision to the Swiss

Psychoanalytic Society. The lecture had been arranged by his longtime assistant Margaretha Honnegger and by Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, who came from Strasbourg to see him the day he died. According to Fromm-Reichmann, Groddeck was psychotic and dictated a letter to Hitler proposing to rid Germany of cancer.<sup>174</sup> After his death, the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute held a special session to honor Groddeck with a eulogy by Boehm that, interestingly, focused on his literary and not his psychoanalytic works.<sup>175</sup> In his obituary for his friend, which was appreciative but not as enthusiastic as his earlier testimonies, Keyserling wrote that he valued in Groddeck the “paradoxical sage” rather than the doctor. His hereticism, his bizarreness, and his amorality led to deep truth, and like no other philosopher of nature, Groddeck idealized infancy. In fact, wrote Keyserling, one might say that his ideal organism was the egg, with its enormous creative potential. In the end, he forced everyone to think independently.<sup>176</sup>

The years of National Socialist rule were difficult for Keyserling. While he had shared Groddeck’s fascination with Mussolini and Italian fascism, he seems to have been more critical of the German version, which he perceived as an expression of the irrational.<sup>177</sup> In his 1933 essay “*Gleichschaltung* and Harmony,” Keyserling described the National Socialist movement’s ascent to power not as an ideological shift but as a futuristic revolution, “a gigantic birthing process.”<sup>178</sup> (In the same vein, he also described the Spanish civil war a few years later as “dynamism.”)<sup>179</sup> Keyserling also saw a parallel between Islam and National Socialism in what he described as supranational blind belief. At the same time, he did not see a contradiction in comparing Hitler to Gandhi as a leader of national emancipation. He spoke against any opposition to National Socialism because he considered the nation to be in fragile condition and because the people had made their choice. He explicitly shared Gottfried Benn’s position against emigration. In a radio speech in May 1933, the writer Gottfried Benn had publicly addressed the refugees from National Socialism, who were writing from their “small beach towns in the gulf of Lyon” and their hotels in “Zurich, Prague and Paris.” He argued that these “nineteenth-century brains” and “troubadours of Western progress” could not fathom that what they described as political irrationality meant the beginning of a new visionary and creative race of humans. Rather than choosing Europe, Benn professed to choose his people (*Volk*) and his state.<sup>180</sup> In contrast to Benn, Keyserling, however, warned that national consciousness should not smother individual consciousness.<sup>181</sup>

In a 1933 review of Josef Kastein's *History of the Jews* (1932), Keyserling described the Jewish people as a model for National Socialism: "Kastein's book reveals that the principles of National Socialism, which relate spirit to blood, a relationship first posited by Moses, are entirely feasible."<sup>182</sup> As in his earlier writings, Keyserling saw what he considered the Jewish attachment to the idea of race as a reason for their longevity and tenacity as a people—something the Germans could only learn from. In other instances, Keyserling's racial thought slipped more pronouncedly into racism. In one strange twist, he blamed his Jewish critics in particular for the "misunderstandings" that led to the National Socialist ban on his work. In regard to the persecution of Jews, he expressed the hope that the depth of German anti-Semitism might lead to a deepening of Jewish national consciousness and to a cure for what he described as their inferiority complex.<sup>183</sup>

Like Groddeck, who reportedly composed letters about his work to Hitler, which he apparently neither sent nor preserved, Keyserling wrote to the Führer to offer his collaboration with the new government. In April 1933, after suffering a series of press attacks, Keyserling again wrote to Hitler to assure his loyalty to the government as a nonpartisan public figure.<sup>184</sup> While the activities of the School of Wisdom in Darmstadt were curtailed, and Keyserling and his sons were threatened with expatriation, he still managed to attend conferences in France and Spain with writers and intellectuals such as Paul Valéry and Henri Bergson, but after 1935 several of his requests to attend conferences abroad were denied by Goebbels's ministry.<sup>185</sup>

In a 1935 reading of work by his mentor Chamberlain, Keyserling argued that Chamberlain's commitment to the German spirit was not an expression of a racial affinity but an intellectual, spiritual affinity and, moreover, a choice.<sup>186</sup> His reading of Chamberlain reflected his own choice to keep Germany as the continuing intellectual basis for his work. In 1936, Keyserling published *The Book of Personal Life*, in which his skepticism toward psychotherapy, present earlier in the *South American Meditations*, grew deeper, and in which he revisited the figure of Jesus as a bearer of truthfulness and a healer of the rift between spirit and body. Keyserling problematized the idea of the collective, in which the soul could not fully realize itself, but agreed with the project of blood purity in order to breed a higher level of collective soul.<sup>187</sup> After first banning the book, Goebbels decided to allow its publication, deeming it so abstruse that it could do no harm.<sup>188</sup> In 1937, Keyserling was still able to publish an autobiographical essay in a celebratory volume

about his noble family, *The Book of the Keyserlings*. While he claimed to have been officially prohibited from speaking and publishing thereafter, his books were still published during the war years, including, among others, *Contemplations of Silence and Reflectiveness*, which was distributed to soldiers in a special edition.<sup>189</sup>

After 1933, in his circulars for the Society for Free Philosophy, the organization that supported the School of Wisdom, Keyserling still referred to psychoanalytic thought, but exclusively to Jung's work. In 1935, he critically discussed Ludwig Klages's system of characterology, which was popular with National Socialists. Keyserling considered it a crude reduction of the work of the romantic philosopher-doctor Carl Gustav Carus, since it interpreted the symbolic in a one-to-one relationship with character and omitted the "magic."<sup>190</sup> In 1940, Keyserling wrote approvingly of the Hamburg psychotherapist and society member Walter Frederking and his method of picturing (*Bildern*).<sup>191</sup> Departing from Jung's idea of archetypes and rejecting a universal interpretation of images, Frederking used images to lead his patients to a higher consciousness (in later years he sought this higher consciousness with experimental drugs and published a study on the use of LSD in psychotherapy).<sup>192</sup> For the later Keyserling (as well as the later Groddeck), the soul lived in images.<sup>193</sup>

After 1939, Keyserling retreated to Schönhausen Castle in northern Germany, from which he managed the activities of the School of Wisdom under increasingly dire material conditions. In 1943, the Keyserlings left for Tyrol. The Allied bombings and the destruction of the School of Wisdom offices and library in Darmstadt deeply distressed Keyserling, who saw these "terror attacks" as the technical mastery and unscrupulousness of a cold, rational, and evil mankind.<sup>194</sup> After the end of the war, Jung, whose 1934 anti-Semitic remarks on the distinction between the Jewish and the Aryan unconscious were forgiven by his fellow School of Wisdom speaker Leo Baeck, but not forgotten by the many psychoanalysts in exile, wrote a conciliatory letter to Keyserling.<sup>195</sup> He did not explicitly address his 1934 critical review of Keyserling's *La Révolution Mondiale et la Responsabilité de l'Esprit*, in which he described Keyserling's call for "creative understanding" as stuck in a historically outdated mind-set of always wanting to understand everything. According to Jung, there were times when spirit was completely obscured, and when the experience of this power should not be weakened by an attempt at understanding.<sup>196</sup> More than a decade later, Jung was relieved to hear that Keyserling survived the "catastrophe," and warned him that

the “seed of evil” had spread everywhere. According to Jung, Germany was not yet aware of the damage to its worldwide image.<sup>197</sup>

With the support of the French occupation administration, Keyserling worked on reestablishing the School of Wisdom in Innsbruck but died in April 1946, shortly after sending out an invitation for a new international conference. Keyserling’s work remains largely obscured, while Groddeck’s international impact is more palpable in psychoanalysis and in the culture at large. Given Keyserling’s dialogue with Jung and Freud, his impact on Italian psychoanalysis, and his seminal writings on nation, religion, philosophy, and the exotic, it seems high time for a critical rediscovery of his work.

Berlin psychoanalysts such as Simmel, Horney, Fromm, Fromm-Reichmann, and Martin Grotjahn brought Groddeck’s work to the United States, and by the early 1960s, when American Freudian psychoanalysis was medicalized, the novelist Lawrence Durrell rediscovered Groddeck’s *Book of the It* for a wider French-speaking world, then the English-speaking world, reintroducing it subsequently to German readers as well. (The French edition makes a brief appearance in Jean-Luc Godard’s 1966 film *Made in U.S.A.*) Psychoanalytic Paris also became the center of a large and creative Groddeck following. The Austrian writer Ingeborg Bachmann cited Groddeck’s analysis of the relationship between the inner and outer image created in the act of seeing as formative for her work, and recommended that *The Book of the It* be tagged to any medical prescription.<sup>198</sup> It is surprising how little Groddeck’s impact on the Frankfurt School and American psychoanalytic theory has been discussed, given his early involvement in the formation of Horney’s psychoanalytic theory of femininity, and given that Erich Fromm has cited him as his most influential teacher.<sup>199</sup> Groddeck’s work also engaged the literary avant-garde of his time, as Ingeborg Bachmann recognized, and it is especially in the context of Döblin’s, Huelsenbeck’s, and Mynona’s psychoanalytic fiction that his work needs to be read again.

## The Berlin Psychoanalytic in Palestine

*Arnold Zweig Talks to Max Eitingon*

The previous two chapters discussed examples of the Berlin Psychoanalytic that were directly linked to the most productive and influential years of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. While the first chapter dealt with the psychoanalytic scene in Berlin, the second chapter provided a perspective on how the Berlin Psychoanalytic influenced the institutionalization of psychoanalysis as well as psychoanalytic and cultural practices throughout Germany. This chapter deals with the transition of the Berlin Psychoanalytic into exile and, ultimately, with the question “What did 1933 mean for the Berlin Psychoanalytic?”

Helmuth Plessner, the founder of philosophical anthropology, who influenced Keyserling’s idea of conduct in the 1920s, and who returned from exile in Holland to Germany after World War II, saw as early as 1962 how “the legend of the ’twenties” was forming. Plessner described this legend as based on the perception that the 1920s were a time of unique productivity and incomparable talent and daring that ended abruptly with what Plessner called “the death zone of the Third Reich.”<sup>1</sup> Plessner argued that, for the older generation of Germans, this postwar longing for the golden twenties was a manifestation of a longing for their youth. In the younger generation, Plessner saw this 1920s nostalgia as a longing for a German past that lived only in narrative. For the country as a whole, Plessner believed this idealization of the prefascist years was an expression of a general fear that, without a true capital city, the German people could fall prey once again to

reactionary provincialism. Plessner described the many axes of migration from east to west, from Czernowitz and Breslau to Berlin, as vital for Berlin's intellectual and cultural life in the twenties, for Berlin as a true capital. The fear of a reactionary provincialism was a direct result of the way in which National Socialism had changed the paradigms for Berlin as a capital city and had redefined these axes in terms of the specific regionalism of the Reich. Unspoken remained the thought that, as he was writing his essay, these axes had ceased to exist. Many figures of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, including Döblin, Simmel, Keyserling, and Zweig, had originally arrived in Berlin via these axes. The other unspoken thought was that these were crucial axes of Jewish migration. The nostalgia and the fear of reactionary provincialism that Plessner described as being in conjunction with one another were possible only because of the knowledge of what happened after 1933 and, at the same time, the desire to suspend this history and return to innocence.

Plessner's narrative of absolute death has become a point of contestation in recent scholarship in German studies, which has sought to carve out a discursive space beyond the dichotomy between an idealization of the twenties on the one hand, and of the teleological urgency of Kracauer's *From Caligari to Hitler* on the other. We similarly find two narratives in the field of history of psychoanalysis: one emphasizing continuity (psychoanalysis survived during the Third Reich), and another emphasizing disruption and loss (psychoanalysis ceased to exist in 1933). The narrative of continuity was established by Berlin psychoanalysts who sought to reconnect quickly with the International Psychoanalytic Association after the end of World War II. Scholars like Geoffrey Cocks (1985) have pointed out that the specific working conditions of the Göring Institute furthered the professional standardization of talk therapy and enabled its recognition by health insurers after World War II. Most provocatively, Laurence Rickels argued in 2002 that Nazism and psychoanalysis share a deep affinity in their approach to war and the media. In 1994, the German psychotherapist Annemarie Dührssen reiterated the argument originally championed by former Göring Institute analysts that they had preserved psychoanalysis throughout the Third Reich. In a revisionist move that was identified as at least awkward, if not anti-Semitic, she claimed that the dissociation with Jewish psychoanalysts also prevented the descent of psychoanalysis into sectarianism.<sup>2</sup> Other scholars, like Regine Lockot (1985), James and Eileen Goggin (2001), and Eli Zaretsky (2004), have emphasized how limited, controlled, and ideologically charged the working

conditions at the Göring Institute were.<sup>3</sup> How could the survival of psychoanalytic therapy, which presupposes an environment of negotiation and trust, have been possible in a time when psychoanalysts and their patients were imprisoned or executed for their connections to the resistance movement? How much theoretical compromise is acceptable when one speaks of the survival of psychoanalytic theory? Questions that are not asked often enough in this context are: What kind of psychoanalysis excludes Jews? Is there psychoanalysis without Jews? What was perceived to be “Jewish” about psychoanalysis, and what kind of science remains when the “Jewishness” is purged out of what the Nazis termed the “Jewish science”?

In order to cleanse the Berlin Psychoanalytic and integrate it successfully into the Göring Institute, National Socialism focused its efforts on four aspects of psychoanalysis that it deemed “Jewish”: Jewish psychoanalysts, the international nature of the movement and its staff at the institute, the association with socialism and what were the beginnings of psychoanalytic Marxism, and the prominent role of sexuality in psychoanalytic theory.

While this chapter leans toward a narrative of disruption and loss, it is important to keep in mind that the emergence of the psychoanalytic movement and theory is closely connected to the history of cultural modernism. Therefore, this chapter also reflects the complex relationship between modernism and fascism in modernism’s many moments of uprooting, disruption, and transformation in exile, and also in its strands of continuity and transformation in the Third Reich. Constructions of race and fantasies about Jews populated the German imaginary well before 1933 and, as we saw in the previous chapter, also found their expression within the Freudian psychoanalytic movement. To label the writings of figures like Georg Groddeck or Richard Huelsenbeck and their anti-Semitic ambiguity as progressive or conservative is not very productive. As I will elaborate in the final chapter, both authors described at different historic moments the suppression of femininity as a formative principle of Jewish culture, which in their view ultimately imported a problem of Jewishness into psychoanalytic theory. This hardly makes them fascists. This category is not a productive one in the face of the “great deal of a gray both culpable and exculpatory” that the historian Geoffrey Cocks describes as a part of the history of psychoanalysis in the Third Reich.<sup>4</sup>

In its transition to exile, the Berlin Psychoanalytic assumed different dimensions as psychoanalytic discussions of Jewishness, anti-Semitism,



and fascism gained a new urgency. In this period we find more connections and overlap between the Berlin Psychoanalytic and the Frankfurt School. And while we see the continuity of the Berlin Psychoanalytic in Palestine, which was crucial to the establishment of psychoanalysis in the newly forming Israeli state, this chapter also narrates an ending from the perspective of Arnold Zweig, a writer from a German-language émigré culture who could not adapt himself to a new, Hebrew-based nation.

## ZWEIG'S WARS

Arnold Zweig (1887–1968) grew up in Silesia and began to read Freud during his years of literary and philosophical studies before World War I. Through his wife, the painter Beatrice Zweig, Zweig became aware of the work of the “wild psychoanalyst” Otto Gross, who treated Beatrice and many other expressionist artists, such as Erich Mühsam and Franz Jung.<sup>5</sup> In 1913, Gross was abducted and imprisoned following accusations made by his father, the renowned professor of criminology Hans Gross, who denounced his son as an anarchist. These bizarre events prompted a wave of publicity in support of Gross in the expressionist journal *Die Aktion* and elsewhere, and Zweig, who was very impressed with Gross’s therapeutic success, protested the abusive mixture of paternal and state authority used against such a “valuable individual.” In 1920, Gross, who never quite recovered from his imprisonment, was found half-starved on the street in Berlin and died shortly thereafter. In retrospect, Zweig suspected suicide, and commented that even a very good analyst of others needed to be properly analyzed in order to be able to help himself.<sup>6</sup>

As it was for many analysts and artists involved with the Berlin Psychoanalytic, World War I was a defining experience for Zweig that would influence his writing for the rest of his life. Beginning in 1915, he worked as an unarmed soldier in road construction in Hungary, Serbia, and France, where he experienced the Battle of Verdun up close. In 1917, he was transferred to the press corps of the northeastern territories of the expanding Wilhelminian empire. His work in Bialystok, Kaunas (Kowno), and Vilnius (Wilna) shaped his perception of eastern European Jewry as the original people and intensified his identification with a culturally determined Zionism.

In October 1916, the military conducted a special census to determine the amount of deployed Jewish soldiers and thus gave in to the demands of an anti-Semitic campaign, which accused Jews of draft

dodging.<sup>7</sup> This “Judenählung” led Zweig to publish several postwar essays on anti-Semitism, in which he describes anti-Semitism as a phenomenon pertaining to the German middle class. He saw World War I as a touchstone event not only in regard to his own sense of Jewishness, or to his ongoing attempt to theorize anti-Semitism, but also in regard to his development of a general psychological history of Germany. Like the Berlin psychoanalyst Ernst Simmel and the writer Alfred Döblin, who investigated the collective psychological war damages and diagnosed the epidemic character of war neurosis in “a diseased people,” Zweig described the corrupting force of war neurosis that paralyzed postwar society and may have wreaked even more economic havoc than diseases such as tuberculosis. Many lives around Zweig were shattered during and after the War, and in the circles of the younger generation quiet tragedies and suicides were the result.<sup>8</sup>

After the end of the war, Zweig increasingly had difficulty writing and experienced fits of anger that were disruptive to his family life. Upon his return to Berlin in 1923, he began therapy with the neurologist Walter Kluge, who, according to Zweig’s account, turned to Freudian psychoanalysis only in the process of analyzing his prominent patient.<sup>9</sup> Out of gratitude for the success of his therapy, which reawakened his artistic productivity, Zweig dedicated his 1927 study *Caliban* to Freud. Zweig conceived of *Caliban* as a psychoanalytic study, and the study clearly shows Freud’s effect on Zweig’s earlier analysis of anti-Semitism as a middle-class phenomenon, which in *Caliban* Zweig integrated into a sophisticated theory of group affects. According to Zweig, anti-Semitism is based on two complementary affects: the affect of difference (*Differenzaffekt*), which leads to the rejection of everything alien to a particular group, and the affect of centrality (*Zentralitätsaffekt*), which deludes a group into overestimating its own accomplishments and importance (also *Mittelpunktswahn*).

Despite his initial enthusiasm, Zweig viewed Kluge’s treatment with more skepticism when he looked back on what became a long career as a psychoanalytic patient. In 1930, he wrote to Freud that Kluge—while being a wonderful person—hadn’t learned to carefully consider all the little signs necessary to fully understand a psychological phenomenon.<sup>10</sup> In a later letter to Eitingon, Zweig returned to the issue of lack in psychoanalytic training, complaining to his friend that his Berlin analysts, who really were not proper analysts, still understood enough of psychoanalysis to forbid him—much to his detriment—the study of Freud’s works.<sup>11</sup>

In the late 1920s, Zweig became aware of the work of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute, which was gaining international renown. In 1929, he and his wife, Beatrice, met Freud for the first time in Simmel's psychoanalytic clinic Schloß Tegel. Their conversation revolved around the challenges to Freudian psychoanalytic theory, both by former disciples such as Alfred Adler and by the export of psychoanalysis to the United States. During their walk in the clinic's park, Zweig also conversed with Anna Freud, with whom he corresponded through the early 1960s, and met Simmel, who casually presented himself as "not Georg, but Ernst."<sup>12</sup> The Tegel encounter, with its strong sense of intellectual kinship, spurred one of Freud's most engaging correspondences, and it stood at the beginning of many encounters between "Vater Freud" and "Meister Arnold."

The concern regarding the question of who was an ally and who was a foe of psychoanalysis, and the mission of preserving the authenticity of a distinctly European and Freudian "brand" of psychoanalysis, both became important topics for Zweig in his theoretical engagement with psychoanalysis. But psychoanalysis also interested Zweig as a new means of reading his life in conjunction with his fantasies and his literary production. In a 1930 letter to Freud, Zweig described an especially irritating symptom of eye tuberculosis, which caused Zweig's blindness in later years. At this point, the disease was not yet diagnosed, and Zweig and his analysts sought to explain the psychological origins of this debilitating affliction.<sup>13</sup> Zweig wrote to Freud that a small pocket of liquid had formed on his retina, which he constantly saw in the center of his vision. This obscure yet liquid mass was surrounded by a black frame, which made it seem like an "eye camera" to Zweig. Through this eye camera, Zweig saw disturbing images that had nothing to do with what he saw otherwise—he saw grimaces of Jews, *Judenfratzen*: "My eyes displayed all kinds of Jewish faces. Mostly faces of men lying down, viewed from their chins, with closed eyes, as if dead. Some days they were transformed into decomposing, crumbling faces, then again into skulls, often also into portrait-like representations of holy men in the attire of lost centuries with caps and pointed beards."<sup>14</sup> Freud confirmed Zweig's own reading of these visions as a mixture of optic mechanisms, impressions from his readings, and repressed guilt feelings toward his father and father-in-law. Gently rejecting Zweig's attempt to get an analysis-by-mail from the master himself, Freud suggested that these symptoms offered an excellent opportunity for self-analysis: "Through the gap of the retina one could take a deep look into the unconscious."<sup>15</sup>



FIGURE 7. Dream sequence from *Secrets of a Soul* (G.W. Pabst, 1926). The protagonist and dreamer (Werner Krauß), in the lower right corner, is dwarfed by this nightmarish scene of a war tribunal. Courtesy of Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung/Transit-Film GmbH.

Zweig's and Freud's metaphor of a soul cinema was not unique in the psychoanalytic literature at this point. In 1918, Ernst Simmel had described how he let his patients replay their "inner film," and how he chased the war neurotics again and again into the "scenery" of their traumatic past.<sup>16</sup> The young science of psychoanalysis not only employed the vocabulary of the young mass medium film but also deployed it as a means to popularize its theories in Germany: the 1926 feature film *Secrets of a Soul*, a collaboration between the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute and the film director G. W. Pabst, brought the "filmed soul" to the big screen in traumatic flashbacks and dream sequences.<sup>17</sup>

A competing Viennese movie project headed by Siegfried Bernfeld was never completed. A screenplay written by Simmel (who is rumored to have displayed a picture book of Charlie Chaplin in his office) was never meant to be realized.<sup>18</sup> In this screenplay parody titled "Psychoanalysis on Film—Sensational Revelations from the Dark Side of the Human Soul," Simmel, the "irresponsible editor," maps big-city movie tropes onto the psychoanalytic Oedipus soulscape: "commotion in front of the Potsdamer gate of Thebes—cars drive in and out—the

traffic guard reveals himself to be powerless despite forceful as well as eurythmic arm gymnastics. At the left upper corner of the screen a moonlight projection from the psychoanalytic Oedipus system is switched on. It illuminates [the fact] that the traffic guard with the face of Laios represents his double as well as a symbol of inner censorship—the traffic movement symbolizes the breakthrough of passion through un- and preconscious barriers.”<sup>19</sup> Simmel’s mock movie closes with the advice that Oedipus could have been spared all this, had he spent his latency period at the polyclinic of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute at Potsdamer Str. 29: “German people—get analyzed!!! If it’s the soul—go see Simmel!”

Zweig, who wrote film scripts during these years, also saw a kinship between the cinematic and psychoanalytic language of images, which could inspire him to new forms of literary expression. Through his “eye camera,” Zweig saw not only his family history but also a mythology-tinted Jewish past. Zweig wrote increasingly for psychoanalytic publications—his 1929 essay “Freud und der Mensch” (Freud and the Human Being) appeared in the journal *Die Psychoanalytische Bewegung*, and his 1934 book, *Insulted and Exiled*, was slated for publication with the International Psychoanalytic Press. His literary production, which previously had been reviewed in psychoanalytic publications, beginning with his *Novellen um Claudia* (1912), was now more clearly grounded in psychoanalytic themes and theory.<sup>20</sup> This mutual dialogue between psychoanalysis as a simultaneously solidifying institution and emerging theory, and Zweig’s cultural and psychoanalytic interventions, was to continue during his years in exile.

#### THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC LEAVES GERMANY

Zweig left Germany immediately after Hitler became chancellor in January 1933, and, following short stays in Prague and southern France, he settled in the port city of Haifa in Palestine in December of that same year. Max Eitingon arrived in Palestine a few months later. Eitingon had met Freud in 1907 while working at the Burghölzli in Zurich, and subsequently he had moved to Berlin to build (along with Karl Abraham) what became the BPI. Until November 1933, Eitingon was the head of the German Psychoanalytic Society and a board member of the BPI. But early in 1933, while Eitingon was away on vacation, Felix Boehm, one of the non-Jewish members of the BPI, traveled to Vienna to discuss with Freud how the BPI should react to a new National Socialist law

requiring that all medical organizations have an exclusively non-Jewish board. Boehm and Carl Müller-Braunschweig (also a non-Jewish BPI analyst) had contacted various government officials, presumably to check on the status of the BPI and to dispel the National Socialists' negative image of psychoanalysis. Because of their increasingly hostile interactions with the Nazi officials, the pair became convinced that they could avert the closing of the institute only by voting off all Jewish board members. Anxious to preserve a psychoanalytic institution in Germany that would remain under the control of Freudian analysts, Freud agreed to the election of a new non-Jewish executive board.

The first proposal for a change to non-Jewish leadership was voted down by the majority of the psychoanalysts, including Eitingon himself, who felt very alienated by this move. Eitingon continued seeing his patients at the Berlin polyclinic until September 1933, and then left for Palestine to prepare for his emigration. (Freud and Ernest Jones, president of the International Psychoanalytic Association [IPA], would have preferred to have Eitingon stay in Europe. And Albert Einstein appealed to Eitingon to seriously consider the United States rather than Palestine, which was "cramped" and "naturally flooded by doctors of all sorts.")<sup>21</sup> Shortly thereafter he founded the Palestine Psychoanalytic Association (PPA) before returning briefly to Berlin that November, during which time he and Simmel finally consented to the transition to a non-Jewish executive board headed by Felix Boehm and Carl Müller-Braunschweig.

After the transition, the already tense atmosphere at the institute became worse: Boehm's report to the IPA describes how the new directors averted several attempts at closing. In this same report, Boehm also inadvertently depicts how the Jewish members were increasingly marginalized by their own colleagues. Eitingon finally resigned his membership of the German Psychoanalytic Society and left Germany for good in December 1933.<sup>22</sup>

By August 1934, twenty-four of the thirty-six original members of the Berlin Institute had left the country—some under dramatic circumstances.<sup>23</sup> Simmel, for example, was in the middle of conducting a psychoanalytic session when he received a call from a friend on the police force that the Gestapo was on its way. Simmel fled through the back window of his private practice, with the help of his patient, a self-proclaimed traumatized future psychoanalyst.<sup>24</sup> With the departure of Eitingon and other leading figures, including Hanns Sachs and Karen Horney (both in 1932), and Otto Fenichel and Ernst Simmel (both in 1933), and with the exclusion of Wilhelm Reich from institutional

psychoanalysis (beginning in 1934), the face of Berlin psychoanalysis had irrevocably changed.<sup>25</sup>

The subsequent marginalization of the remaining Jewish psychoanalysts culminated in an emotional 1935 meeting that was triggered by the arrest of the psychoanalyst Edith Jacobson on the grounds of her connections with the social democratic resistance group *Neu Beginnen*. The British psychoanalyst Ernest Jones, then president of the IPA, came to Berlin to mediate the ensuing debate on the future of the Jewish psychoanalysts. Jones had previously derided the “ultra-Jewish attitude” in a letter to Boehm, and had written to Anna Freud that he would rather psychoanalysis be practiced exclusively by “gentiles” in Germany rather than have it not be practiced at all.

At the meeting, Jones seemed to back the group of psychoanalysts represented by Therese Benedek. They resented the fact that the remaining Jewish members were pressured to resign as a result of Jacobson’s arrest, which had triggered accusations that Jacobson’s presumably selfish political actions had endangered the survival of psychoanalysis in Germany. They questioned whether psychoanalysis without Jews could still be considered psychoanalysis, and they suggested that such a resignation would play into the Nazi argument that psychoanalysis was an ideology rather than a clinical practice. The Jewish psychoanalyst Eva Rosenfeld argued that her colleagues could not resign voluntarily, because doing so would involve such a high degree of masochism that it would be equivalent to being asked to execute oneself.

However, after his return to London, Jones urged the Jewish members to resign from the German Psychoanalytic Society, and by January 1936 all Jewish members had done so, including Zweig’s former analyst Walter Kluge, who emigrated to the United States after a brief interlude in Palestine.<sup>26</sup> The non-Jewish psychoanalyst Bernd Kamm resigned in protest and left the country.<sup>27</sup> Benedek emigrated to Chicago, and Rosenfeld to London. In 1938, Edith Jacobson was able to escape to New York.<sup>28</sup> However, though many escaped, other Berlin psychoanalysts were murdered, including Salomea Kempner, who conducted psychoanalytic control sessions in her own apartment until 1937, and whose traces disappear in the Warsaw Ghetto, and John Rittmeister, a non-Jewish analyst who was executed in 1943 for his work with the resistance group *Red Chapel*.<sup>29</sup>

The Norwegian psychoanalyst Nic Hoel, who had been trained by Fenichel, and who was sent by Jones to monitor the atmosphere at the institute in early 1936, questioned Jones’s priority to ensure an

institutional survival of psychoanalysis at all cost: “Anna Freud did say that the analysis had to go before all things, but I think this is a too easy and simple formulation of it. When we now have to see in Berlin in what terrible way Boehm has to conceal so many of the scientific facts, and that they [the BPI leaders] are forced by the German government in reality, not only formally, to be in accordance with the German theories, then I think it is an illusion that they can keep the analytical science pure.”<sup>30</sup> She goes on to describe “the great anxiety of all people.”

On May 26, 1936, the remaining psychoanalysts became Workgroup A of the newly founded German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy. This new umbrella organization was nicknamed the Göring Institute, after its director Matthias Göring—a cousin of Hermann Göring—who had been trained by an Adlerian psychoanalyst and was an ardent National Socialist. The Göring Institute encompassed Freudians, Jungians, Adlerians, and unaffiliated psychotherapists. Its stated mission was to develop a truly German form of psychotherapy, a *Deutsche Seelenheilkunde*. While it is important to note the specificities and ambiguities of each case, most of the Göring Institute analysts chose to contribute to this mission, even while pursuing their own purportedly apolitical research interests, or even without sharing the whole belief system that came with it.

After the elimination of Jews from psychoanalysis in Germany, everything else that was considered Jewish in psychoanalysis was bound to be effaced: its long-standing association with leftist theory and politics, its institutional internationalism, and its theoretical emphasis on sexuality. The beginnings of psychoanalytic Marxism in Berlin with Otto Fenichel, Erich Fromm, Siegfried Bernfeld, and Wilhelm Reich were criticized within the psychoanalytic movement itself because of fears that Freudian orthodoxy would be compromised and that political activism could threaten the status of psychoanalysis as a science. After 1933, almost all of the politically inclined psychoanalysts left Germany.

Before its coerced integration into the Göring Institute, the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute was forced to strike *Berlin* from its name in 1935, and most correspondence thereafter was written on the letterhead of the German Psychoanalytic Society. This shift from the city to the nation represents a shift in theoretical association: from Berlin as the modern, urban, and international environment that was inextricably connected to the interdisciplinary cultural and political work of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, to a Germany defined by racial categories, with





FIGURE 8. Members of the Göring Institute (1941). Courtesy of Ludger Hermanns (BPI).

the clear mission to put psychotherapy in the service of business practices and military mobilization.<sup>31</sup> The German Psychoanalytic Society, which was still affiliated with the International Psychoanalytic Association, was dismantled in 1938, and the international isolation of the remaining psychoanalysts was complete.

At the Göring Institute, the idea that the origin of neurosis was sexual, a core concept of Freudian psychoanalysis, was bound to be censored. In a 1938 interview with the *Völkischer Beobachter* (National Socialist Party newspaper) Göring argued that one of the main problems of his institute's work was that the very modern medical field of psychoanalysis had once had such a destructive effect. In Göring's somewhat fuzzy logic, the sexual repression of the church gave entry to the destructive Jewish influence, and therefore the treatment of repression needed to be desexualized.

After 1938, Workgroup A was forced to hold all meetings at the Göring Institute itself, where they were frequently patrolled by Göring and his wife in order to ensure that the analysts used the proper terminology.<sup>32</sup> In time, the original language of psychoanalysis was replaced with National Socialist-approved terminology. Psychoanalysis became "deep psychology" or "applied characterology," and the "Oedipus complex" became—true to National Socialist doctrine—the "family complex." Allusions to infantile sexuality vanished, and insofar as sexuality was still considered a research area, it shifted to the intersections of sexuality and

family planning, and sexuality and pathology, in, for example, works on fertility or homosexuality.

#### THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC IN PALESTINE

While psychoanalysis in Berlin was in the process of dissociating itself from Jewish psychoanalysts and everything that was perceived as Jewish in psychoanalysis, the Berlin psychoanalysts who built the Palestine Psychoanalytic Association clearly identified as Jews and embraced their psychoanalytic Zionist mission.<sup>33</sup> The move to Palestine represented the realization of an old dream for Eitingon, and each year a group of analysts commemorated the day when they had first discussed Zionism as students at a meeting in 1904.<sup>34</sup> At first, they treated their patients in Russian and German, and then, as they learned the language, also in Hebrew. Until 1938, when the next wave of psychoanalytic emigration began, from Vienna, the PPA consisted mostly of Jewish Berlin psychoanalysts originally from eastern Europe. They were spread out over the entire British-mandated territory: Max Eitingon and Margarethe Brandt worked in Jerusalem, Moshe Wulff and Anna Smeliansky in Tel Aviv, and Ilja Schalit in Haifa. They met once a month in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> Max Eitingon and his wife, Mirra, had previously led a salon in Berlin, where they had entertained artists and Russian émigrés, among them the historian of eastern European Jewry Simon Dubnow.<sup>36</sup> Also in Palestine, Eitingon saw himself as the “secretary of culture of our science.”<sup>37</sup> In time, Zweig became part of this Freudian intellectual community, in which he was as much a patient as an ally.<sup>38</sup>

With their arrival in Palestine, Eitingon and Zweig stood at the beginning of a new wave of immigration from Germany and Austria. Previously, most Jewish immigrants had hailed from eastern Europe. In the first few years after 1933, about a third of the German-Jewish refugees decided to go to Palestine. As the Jewish studies scholar Joachim Schlör has pointed out, it was the only destination for them that could immediately present more than a refuge—namely, a promise.<sup>39</sup> Among them were many renowned figures of German-language intellectual and cultural life, like the philosopher Martin Buber, the publisher Salman Schocken, the architect Erich Mendelsohn, and the writers Max Brod and Else Lasker-Schüler. Beginning in 1932, German-Jewish refugees were organized in the *Hitachduth Olej Germania* (later *Hitachduth Olej Germania We Olej Austria*, including the Austrian wave of immigration), which collaborated with the German branch of the Jewish

Agency, the administration of the Jewish community, or the Jischuw. The Jischuw did not necessarily welcome this new influx of Jews from western Europe. As the historian Walter Laqueur has put it, “They were disliked and suspected for the same reasons that all immigrants are resented at all times in all places.” If they complained, they were told to go back to Nazi Germany.<sup>40</sup> By 1941, about 60,000 German and Austrian Jews had come to Palestine.<sup>41</sup> Many of them described their encounters with Arab port workers, who helped them to disembark, as one of their strongest impressions of their arrival in Haifa. But the relationship between the Arab population and the new immigrants was to become fraught. The Jewish population of Palestine rose exponentially, from 160,000 to 400,000 between 1929 and 1937, which was perceived as a threat to Arab nationalist interests and one of the causes for the Arab revolt from 1936 to 1939.<sup>42</sup> Subsequently, the British authorities restricted the numbers of German Jews admitted to Palestine, which led to an increase in illegal immigration.

The violence greatly worried the German émigré community. In 1939, Else Lasker-Schüler wrote to Salman Schocken of her vision to build a street fair to reconcile Jews and Arabs. It would have a carousel and a few booths, “like old times,” and would be the meeting ground for all children blessed by God.<sup>43</sup> This poetic metaphor, simultaneously nostalgic and utopian, did not express the sentiment of other refugees from Hitler’s Germany. In 1937, Arnold Zweig described the “Arab fascism” as part of a worldwide fascist movement that emerged out of the right-wing militarist circles of World War I.<sup>44</sup> Shortly before his emigration, in 1932, Zweig had published the historical novel *De Vriendt Goes Home*, which was based on the story of the poet and intellectual Jacob Israel de Haan. De Haan was a Dutch orthodox Jew who became an anti-Zionist leader in Palestine and was subsequently murdered in 1924 by radical Zionists. With the depiction of his protagonist’s love for an Arab boy, Zweig took up Magnus Hirschfeld’s cause and wrote against the criminalization of homosexuality. He confided to Freud that he identified with both, the “godless orthodox lover and writer” and the “Arab (Semitic) boy,” which set up a dynamic of benevolent orientализing that also found its occasional expression in his Palestine correspondence with Eitingon.<sup>45</sup>

In Zweig’s letters of these years, it becomes apparent how much he and his family chose to live in a German-language world. In 1939, 13,000 German immigrants lived in Haifa; and Mount Carmel, Zweig’s home, was considered an enclave of “Jeckes,” German Jews. Not all of

the German immigrants were Jews. Gad Granach, son of the famous Berlin actor Alexander Granach, recalls the protestant German Templar community, which had established itself in the late nineteenth century, among which things were so “German” that even the Arab workers spoke Swabian dialect. A statue of emperor Wilhelm II stood in Haifa, and a German consul resided there until 1941, which meant that, upon their arrival in the Promised Land, some refugees were greeted by the sight of a swastika flag flying over the consulate.<sup>46</sup> The Berlin author and journalist Gabriele Tergit wrote tartly about how these different groups could agree on one thing—German pastry, preferably served with the gruff attitude Berlin is still famous for: “That’s what people want, they want their *Streuselkuchen*, their *Bienenstich* and their *Schweineohren*.”<sup>47</sup> It is this German-speaking world of Mount Carmel, where one could read German newspapers, see German theater performances, and meet friends from Berlin and Vienna, that informed and limited Zweig’s perspective on Palestine politics as it emerges in his letters to Eitingon.

The correspondence between Max Eitingon and Arnold Zweig, which began in 1935 and ended with Eitingon’s death in 1943, provides an intimate glimpse into the early years of the PPA and the special conditions of psychoanalytic practice in exile, where the need for a close community and the shared financial and psychological strains accounted for intimate relationships between psychoanalysts and their patients both on and off the couch. From today’s perspective, it seems astonishing that this degree of intimacy was apparently not deemed problematic, and in many instances the incestuous atmosphere could take an absurdly comic turn. Zweig, for example, crashed for a few nights on Eitingon’s treatment couch, and Eitingon asked Zweig to give his analyst—Ilja Schalit—and his son’s analyst a lift to Jerusalem to jointly attend the meeting of the PPA.<sup>48</sup> Over the years the families Zweig, Eitingon, and Schalit developed a deep friendship. They celebrated Jewish holidays together, and they looked after each other when, for example, a family member was traveling. Eitingon addressed the difficult financial situation of the Zweigs with much empathy: “I can’t get your material situation out of my head. In the meantime, my own situation was not only not clarified, but was delayed, and therefore it’s gotten worse. But this is no reason not to help you. I never understood that one only does what one can do, and not what one believes to be unable to do or what one truly can’t do.”<sup>49</sup>

Zweig and Eitingon loaned each other money, and in 1943, when Zweig was forced to sell all his chairs to get money, Eitingon sent him

furniture from his own apartment.<sup>50</sup> Eitingon also took an interest in Beatrice Zweig's paintings and—like Schalit—read and commented on Arnold Zweig's manuscripts. In their correspondence, Arnold Zweig incessantly seems to bring one or the other desperate cause or case to Eitingon's attention, and Eitingon was not always pleased with the neurotic immigrants that Zweig sent him.<sup>51</sup>

On the occasion of yet another of Eitingon's health crises, Zweig, Schalit, and Smeliansky jointly discussed his tendency to work too much.<sup>52</sup> Eitingon's health was a great worry to Zweig, who at the beginning of 1943 made a list of all his friends who had died in exile. It is a very long list, and at its end Zweig remarks laconically: "Very sick: Max Eitingon." In July of the same year, Zweig drove to Jerusalem: Eitingon had been unconscious for almost a week, the big apartment was open, Mirra was distraught, and many friends were at Eitingon's deathbed, Schalit and Smeliansky among them.<sup>53</sup>

While Zweig maintained a familial relationship with several of the psychoanalysts of the Palestine Psychoanalytic Association, he and his family were also their patients. His wife, Beatrice, and his oldest son were in analysis, as was his sister Ruth, who joined the Zweig family in Palestine in 1935.<sup>54</sup> Ruth Zweig's analyst was the charismatic Margarethe Brandt, who had been trained by Eitingon in Berlin and who led the PPA after Eitingon's death. Zweig was clearly at odds with Brandt, as well as with his sister. In 1936, he told Ruth before she found out from Brandt herself that her analysis was to be discontinued.<sup>55</sup> A few years later he complained to Eitingon about the ingratitude of his sister and her growing neurosis: "Miss Brandt did not betray a good instinct in this case. In the family this sister was invented by my colleague Strindberg."<sup>56</sup> At age sixteen, Zweig's younger son was sent to the psychoanalyst Berta Grünspan, who had worked with Anna Freud and had come to Haifa from Vienna in 1938. Zweig closely monitored the treatment, which, after an initial happy phase, took an unexpected turn when his son decided to quit school to pursue a career as an electrician. Zweig wrestled with the fact that his son would not follow in his footsteps and become a writer—or at least his secretary.<sup>57</sup>

In April 1934, Zweig himself started analysis with Ilja Schalit, who like Brandt was trained by Eitingon in Berlin, and who had worked with Simmel at the psychoanalytic clinic Schloß Tegel. In a letter to Freud, Zweig wrote, "Dear Father Freud, I am going once again into analysis. I can't get rid of Hitlerism."<sup>58</sup> Rather than fueling his work, his fantasy exhausted itself in sadistic war imagery. Over the following

years, Zweig broke off the analysis at least three times, yet he always returned to Schalit's couch.<sup>59</sup> He kept Eitingon, who appears to have helped out occasionally with informal conversations, informed about the progress and difficulties in his analysis. In June 1940, he described physiological symptoms that he interpreted as similar to the earlier phenomenon of his "eye camera": "For a few days I was feeling really bad; after exhausting myself while swimming I had great bouts of vertigo. But I used them for analysis and progressed greatly. How do you like the formula for infantile narcissism: everything has to revolve around me?"<sup>60</sup> Zweig was taken with the metaphorical possibilities of psychoanalysis and frequently sought interpretations from his interlocutors Freud and Eitingon. He clearly expected his analyst Schalit to keep his friend Eitingon up-to-date on his analysis, especially about the work on his resistance, which seemed to Zweig to be the crucial issue in this treatment.<sup>61</sup> At times he lost patience: "At some point there has to be an end to analysis, and if one can't become a *harmonium*, one might as well become a *disharmonium*."<sup>62</sup>

Eitingon in turn entrusted Zweig with his own low points. The occupation of France in 1940 rendered him desperate and unable to write: "The infinitely sad picture that France, which we believed we knew and loved, now presents is hard to grasp. But still my vision of things and of the outcome hasn't changed, all this somehow belongs to the heavy price that had to be paid. But it's hard to carry the burden of the in-between."<sup>63</sup> As carrying this burden over the years seemed less and less tied to a state of being in-between, and the mother tongue of their clientele shifted more and more from German and Russian to Hebrew, the psychoanalysts of the PPA learned the new language, while Arnold and Beatrice Zweig chose to remain in an increasingly smaller German-speaking world.

The correspondence between Zweig and Eitingon reveals that Zweig was perceived as an important psychoanalytic interlocutor by the members of PPA.<sup>64</sup> Zweig was invited to attend PPA meetings, for example, when the former Berlin psychoanalyst Theodor Reik came to lecture on masochism.<sup>65</sup> Eitingon sent Zweig current psychoanalytic publications and initiated Zweig's study of the works of Karl Abraham, the founder of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. At Eitingon's request, Zweig published on psychoanalytic discussions in Palestinian newspapers.

Zweig's work also was reviewed by the psychoanalyst Otto Fenichel, who mentioned Zweig's activities with the PPA in his *Rundbriefe*, an informal international circular letter for the former participants of

the Kinderseminar. As mentioned earlier in connection to Döblin, the Kinderseminar, nicknamed such by Max Eitingon, was a group of young psychoanalysts at the BPI who came together on Fenichel's initiative, and it included analysts such as Erich Fromm, Edith Jacobson, Harald Schultz-Hencke, Siegfried Bernfeld, and Wilhelm and Annie Reich. As Fenichel wrote to Zweig in 1936, these analysts were interested in connecting Marxism with psychoanalysis in order to study and ultimately influence the laws of production and reproduction of ideologies. Fenichel was especially taken with Zweig's analysis of the Grimm's fairy tale *The Jew in the Thorn*, which he saw as an attempt to explain current social realities by tapping into collective fantasies of the past. Zweig answered Fenichel that sociological applications of psychoanalysis could hardly be expected from Freud, but that he saw himself as part of the effort to further the necessary theoretical amalgamations and crossovers.<sup>66</sup> In this regard, Zweig, who in 1943 professed to "being on the way to building a bridge between Freud and Marx," was pursuing different interests from his friend Eitingon, whom Zweig described as a liberal bourgeois democrat, as much a man of the eighteenth century—the century of aristocracy—as a man of the nineteenth, the century of Marx, Darwin, and Freud: the century of analysis.<sup>67</sup> While their political agendas differed, and Eitingon did not share Zweig's increasing disenchantment with Zionism, Zweig and Eitingon both deeply admired Freud and gave priority to their mission to carry the torch of his teachings.

Zweig not only regularly took part in PPA meetings, but he also occasionally contributed his own work. The following is a discussion of three of his psychoanalytic interventions: two lectures delivered at meetings of the PPA, one on emigration and neurosis and another on psychoanalysis in the Third Reich; and finally, a proposal for psychoanalytic kindergartens in postwar Germany.

## ZWEIG'S DREAMS

In the beginning of his treatment with Schalit in 1934, Zweig took notes on his dreams. Three of these dreams and their biographical background reflect themes that Zweig later reworked within the framework of psychoanalytic theory: the difficulties of exile and of working as a German-Jewish writer in an increasingly divided Palestinian society, the impossibility of recapturing individual or national origin, the outlook on the events in Germany, and the question of how to act in response to fascism.

In the first dream, two pale old Jewish women cheat Zweig out of his payment for a theatrical performance. He doesn't understand everything, because the old women speak Spanish. In the end, he doesn't call the police because he knows that "they are broke, and I will never get my money."<sup>68</sup> In the second dream, Zweig takes the train to Glogau, his birthplace, and to Kattowitz, where he moved at the age of nine. But when he gets off the train, he is not in Glogau. He sees a "Bengali church," it is night, and he is "with Japanese people."<sup>69</sup> The third dream seems especially poignant in retrospect: "I dream that I am in a room with two very well-dressed gentlemen with Germanic faces. They ignore my presence in the room and talk about religion. They claim to be the only bearers of religion in Europe, they, the Christians. At that point I dare to interrupt them: 'We are still here.' Their arrogant expressions."<sup>70</sup>

These dreams reflect the biographical experiences that Zweig engages with on a literary and theoretical level during his years in Palestine. As in the earlier case of his eye camera, psychoanalysis provided him with a set of instruments that links the imagery of fantasy with what he considered a politically relevant practice of interpretation. While he was in Palestine, it was the condition of his exile captured in these dreams that he attempted to frame theoretically.

The first dream with the two old Jewish women strongly suggests Zweig's feeling of being cheated out of a deserved reward for his work by his own people, who seem to speak another language entirely. When Zweig settled in the Haifa neighborhood of Mount Carmel, about half of the population of his neighborhood were German Jews, and the Zweigs were able to live in the German-speaking world of the educated bourgeoisie. When he invited Arab poets into his house, they spoke French. While their sons spoke Hebrew in school and outside of the house, Zweig and his wife did not learn the language. Zweig insisted throughout the years that the German language should be understood by everybody in Palestine. By the midthirties, though, the German language was increasingly associated with Hitler, and parts of the non-Jewish German community in Palestine aligned themselves with National Socialism. Zweig's public readings were interrupted or cancelled altogether, and he could publish only with great difficulty. Jews in Palestine spoke another language, indeed, and the divide between the two groups was evident in the ironic question posed to German refugees: "Did you come from Germany, or did you come out of conviction?"<sup>71</sup>

When his planned public lecture for Freud's birthday in 1936 was canceled, the enraged Zweig started applying his categories for



analyzing the German fascist movement to Zionism in Palestine, the ideals of which he saw as undermined by “group- and mass-hatred” and “subterranean fascism.”<sup>72</sup> In 1943, he went so far as to equate National Socialism and Zionism in what he described as their shared fanatic and exclusionary attitudes. The Jischuw (the Jewish community in Palestine), wrote Zweig, had been transformed into a “horrible nest of fascists that worships violence.”<sup>73</sup> His disappointment with the discrimination against eastern European Jews and against Arabs lead Zweig to openly criticize Zionism in his journal *Orient*, which became the target of massive amounts of critique and thus contributed to his further intellectual isolation. Nearly a decade earlier, in his first dream, the urge to right the wrong that he believed was being done to him had presented him with a dilemma—it seemed inappropriate to turn against those whom he considered to be his own elders, and who shared his difficult position.

Zweig’s second dream, about his train journey, reflects the impossibility of returning to one’s origin, be that origin the places of birth and childhood—for Zweig, Glogau and Kattowitz, places that also connote the mythical past of eastern European Jewry—or the original Jewish state of Palestine. An attempt to return to any homeland ends in a confusion of foreign religious, ethnic, and cultural references, as the images of the Bengali church and the Japanese people illustrate. In the third dream, the possibility of a return to Germany as another *Heimat* seems equally impossible. The German people collectively turn their racialized “Germanic” face to Zweig—in National Socialist Germany Zweig is ignored, or his voice meets with condescension. The experience of being erased from the German cultural canon also informs Zweig’s reflections on psychoanalysis in Nazi Germany—the project of a Freudianism without Freud.

## EMIGRATION NEUROSIS

Eitingon was excited to hear from Schalit that Zweig was planning to give a talk at the PPA on January 23, 1937, on “emigration and neurosis,” a topic that Eitingon and Zweig had previously engaged in their conversations. Margarethe Brandt informed Eitingon that Ruth Zweig wanted to be present, too, and in yet another complicated entanglement of private and professional relations, Eitingon asked Zweig to invite his sister along.<sup>74</sup> Eitingon’s report to Freud about the talk and the ensuing discussion was very positive.<sup>75</sup> In his talk, Zweig distinguished between

two types of personalities, each with a different reaction to emigration: “Some get over it, the others don’t.”<sup>76</sup> Those “others” who did not get over emigration were marked by changes in milieu during childhood and other traumas, so that each new change of residence had a violent effect that deepened the original trauma: “Today’s tragedy resonates in the voids of infantile reminiscences.” Zweig transferred his idea of an emigration trauma in individual psychology to an emigration trauma in the collective psychology of the Jewish people.

Because the history of Jews since Titus consists of periodically repeated expulsions, it is not hard to deduce that these ingrained experiences of emigration very probably present the grounds for a strong Jewish component in the total of all cases of neurosis and psychosis. Due to the strong vitality of this people it would be hard to find other reasons. At this point analysis leads to sociology, and therapy leads to politics. To completely heal the Jews, one would have to begin by sparing them the repetition of all experiences of emigration.

Jews had been subjected to persecution throughout many centuries, so this experience had become part of their psychological makeup, expressed as a tendency toward neurosis. Zweig’s argument inverts anti-Semitic stereotypes of the Jew at that time, as a rootless, homeless, cosmopolitan creature (stereotypes that saw an especially vile culmination in the 1940 Nazi propaganda film *Jew Sues*): it is because of their attachment to home that Jews suffer from their forced migrations. According to Zweig, the Jewish emigrant was much more likely than the non-Jewish emigrant to suffer from neurosis. Therefore, the Jewish people were instinctually inclined toward ideas of socialism and revolution, which would ultimately better their conditions. But Zweig saw no possibility in the near future for the Jewish disposition to emigration neurosis to be altered through political interventions. By 1937, he saw Zionism in Palestine as a failed attempt to create friendlier conditions for the Jews.

Clearly, Zweig’s talk contains some indirect references to his own biography—for example, his move from Glogau to Kattowitz as a child and his disillusionment with Palestine. His talk is also determined by his desire to counter the images of Jewish degeneracy that populated German culture at this point by insisting—very much in the tradition of Freud and Lamarck—that neurotic dispositions are a result of historical developments, geographic movements, and ultimately, political decisions. At the same time, Zweig’s framing of a Jewish neurotic disposition reflects the complicated dynamic of earlier psychoanalytic discussions. As Sander Gilman has pointed out, Freud’s investment in

what he considered a universal language of science led to significant omissions and displacements of the racial stereotypes that this language contained. And, at times the desire to counter anti-Semitic stereotypes in the world of science led to their positive recharging, as in the case of the psychoanalyst Viktor Tausk, who claimed that the neurotic disposition of Jews made them better therapists.<sup>77</sup>

This dynamic is more apparent in Zweig's earlier work, especially his 1934 book, *Insulted and Exiled*. Like *Caliban*, this book was originally intended as a psychoanalytic study, and was to be published by the International Psychoanalytic Press. Hannah Arendt edited the book in Paris, and it was ultimately published by the most significant publisher of German exile literature, Amsterdam's Querido Verlag, which positioned it as a broader document of intellectual emigration.<sup>78</sup>

According to *Insulted and Exiled*, Jews were Mediterranean in nature and spirit—the Nordic peoples were conflicted and guilt-ridden. Over the centuries before they became accomplished protagonists themselves, Jews first observed then enabled German cultural and scientific achievements. Contemporary German anti-Semitism expressed deep resentment toward this earlier complementary role of Jews and their ultimate emancipation. Inspired by a letter from Freud, Zweig similarly described anti-Semitism as a displacement of the resentment that the Germanic tribes harbored toward the oppressiveness of their Christianization.<sup>79</sup> (Some of these arguments resurfaced in the discussions of Freud's *Moses*.) Because of their deep, historically entrenched feeling of inferiority, Jews were helpless in the face of the new cult of the Aryan. In Palestine, they themselves were in danger of succumbing to the exclusionary group affects that led to their expulsion from Germany, for example, in relation to the Arab population. Jews served a crucial function, not only in German science and culture, but also for humankind. To Zweig, the treatment of Jews was an indicator of the maturity or immaturity of humankind.<sup>80</sup>

Zweig's conception of Jews as "Mediterranean" and the idea of a Jewish inferiority complex contains traces of a racialized dichotomy between Jews and non-Jews and indicates the extent to which Zweig conceived of the pathology of anti-Semitism as dependent on a Jewish pathology. While Zweig describes this pathological dependence in an assertive context of a necessary and irrevocable German-Jewish symbiosis, it also reinscribed the Jew on a psychological level as the passive, foreign-yet-familiar, German "other" (which is, in fact, a term Zweig used in a pre-Lacanian sense to describe the role of the Jew in relation to

the German). Zweig's ideas about anti-Semitism and the Jewish psyche, and his notion of a complementary nature of two historically grown symbiotic pathologies, reappeared a few years later in psychoanalytic discussions of anti-Semitism in the United States.

In 1944, the Los Angeles branch of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society, organized a joint conference on anti-Semitism with Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer from the Institute for Social Research. At that point, the Los Angeles group of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society, which Ernst Simmel founded in 1935, was still heavily dominated by former BPI analysts.<sup>81</sup> Horkheimer and Adorno had previously collaborated closely with institutional psychoanalysis in the early days of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, which was housed in the same building as the Frankfurt Psychoanalytic Institute. Not only did the two institutes share rooms, but they also shared some of their teaching staff and courses, such as those taught by the Berlin-trained psychoanalyst Erich Fromm.<sup>82</sup> The project of merging Freudian psychoanalysis with Marx's dialectics was at the same time also pursued in Berlin by Otto Fenichel, the later editor of the *Kinderseminar-Circulars* and another participant in the 1944 conference.

In his talk, Fenichel quoted Zweig's assumption that the concept of the Jew as a scapegoat was historically anchored deep in the soul of the German people. Like Zweig, Fenichel raised the question of why the Jew was the prime target of the German displacement of mass discontent: "There must be something in the mass mind that meets anti-Semitism half way."<sup>83</sup> Fenichel argued that the special archaic foreignness of the Jews and their stubborn insistence on their traditions invited anti-Semitic attacks. Even though German Jews were completely assimilated, the memory of their historical foreignness was sufficient in a climate of acute mass discontent, such as that experienced in the Weimar Republic, to allow for an outbreak of anti-Semitism. Fenichel's logic implied that contemporary German Jews were suffering consequences that had been provoked at least in part by the behavior of their traditional forefathers. The affect of Fenichel's secular critique was directed against eastern European Jewry, although this was not spelled out. And this is where Zweig and Fenichel's understandings differ, even though both argue for a complementary relationship between anti-Semitic and Jewish pathologies on a psychological level. Zweig's perception of eastern European Jewry was shaped by his experiences in Bialystok, Kaunas, and Vilnius during World War I. In contrast to Fenichel, he idealized eastern European Jewry as the keepers of an unalienated, more

authentic practice of Judaism and located in them a quasi-mythic origin of western European Jewry.<sup>84</sup>

It is curious that, in 1944, Fenichel picked up on Zweig's work of the 1930s on the Jewish mind, while Zweig himself had moved on to his analysis of German pathology. In fact, the 1944 conference shows a split between the Freudian analysts and the Frankfurt School intellectuals in their approach to anti-Semitism. While Horkheimer mapped out the anti-Semitic pathology and addresses anti-Semitic imagery of nomadism primarily as fantasy, Berlin analysts such as Fenichel and Bernhard Berliner focused their analysis on what they described as the Jewish mentality. (Akin to Zweig's earlier work, Berliner diagnosed a specifically Jewish mentality, which included an ecstatic submissiveness and a disposition to fear, along with depressive and masochistic traits.) Between these two extremes stood Simmel, who conceded that psychoanalysis had to investigate how unconscious tendencies in the Jewish personality corresponded with unconscious tendencies in the anti-Semitic personality, but his talk focused (like Horkheimer's) on his analysis of the anti-Semitic pathology.<sup>85</sup>

A few years later, in a memorial gathering for Simmel, who died in 1947, Horkheimer mentioned that, for Simmel, anti-Semitism was a form of psychosis, which implied that it did not require a basis in historical reality.<sup>86</sup> This line of argument, which disconnected the analysis of the anti-Semitic psyche from an assumed pathology in the Jewish psyche, was ultimately the argument that most influenced the American public in, for example, Erik Erikson's psychoanalytic studies of Hitler and the German youth. In these studies, Erikson argued that Germans were especially receptive to foreign influences because of their lack of national frontiers and were therefore especially prone to countering their morbid suggestibility and deep insecurity with a spiritual ambition that could develop into a narrow-minded nationalism. According to Erikson, German anti-Semitism was possible only because the Germans lacked insight into their own "Jewish" inclinations: irrational pacifism and hatred of authority.<sup>87</sup> His strategy of assigning a positive value to rebellious specificities of the Jewish psyche was also pursued by Sidney Tacharow, a colleague of the Dadaist-psychoanalyst Huelsenbeck at Horney's American Institute for Psychoanalysis in New York. Tacharow described the Jew as the original dissident and claimed that, because of their dissidence, Jews were the first to be attacked by an insecure authority. Tacharow critiqued the assumption of an exclusively masochistic modern Jewish psyche, as in Berliner's work, and

called for recognition of the “aggressiveness and sexuality behind this façade of humility, neurotic femininity, and passivity.” According to Tacharow, the “historical position of stubborn independence” that Fenichel took as an invitation to the anti-Semites should be a “source of pride” to Jews today.<sup>88</sup> While Zweig’s talk on emigration and neurosis reflected the nineteenth-century discourse on Jewish nervous pathology present in other early psychoanalytic texts, Zweig focused less on the issue of the Jewish psyche in the following years and emphasized the cultural and sociological aspects of German-Jewish synthesis in, for example, his *Dialectic of the Alps* from the early 1940s, which was only published in 1997.

### PSYCHOANALYSIS WITHOUT JEWS

Beginning in 1934, Zweig became increasingly involved in discussing and reflecting the arguments in Freud’s final book project, *Moses and Monotheism*. Freud wrote to him that his point of departure was the same as Zweig’s in *Insulted and Exiled*: “In the face of the new persecutions one wonders again how the Jew emerged and why he attracted this undying hate. Soon I discovered the formula. Moses created the Jew.”<sup>89</sup> Moses, the non-Jew who created the Jew—this constellation seemed tragic to Zweig in the situation of exile. He saw that, at the time when Freud’s material existence was defined by his being a Jew, Moses ceased to be one, and Freud had to suffer all the more by depriving the Jews of their founding father, their main figure of identification.<sup>90</sup> This concern regarding founding fathers and identification figures also grew increasingly troublesome to Zweig in regard to the developments at the BPI after 1933. The Moses dynamic was connected to the historical moment in which Freud was denied his place as the founding father of psychoanalysis in Germany. What would happen to psychoanalysis in Germany if Freud was defined by his Jewishness? Would the founding father of psychoanalysis be replaced once German psychoanalysis had severed its connections to what was deemed Jewish?

In another talk before the PPA in honor of Freud’s birthday in May 1937, Zweig dealt with this question in the form of a parody he titled “Arnold Zweig’s Research Report, or, On the Real Author of Psychoanalysis.”<sup>91</sup> Zweig’s parody presented the research of a fictitious Doktor Henko Schulz, a clear stand-in for the psychoanalyst Harald Schultz-Hencke, whom Freud considered an “inner enemy” of psychoanalysis. Freud had consented to the forced resignation of Eitingon

in 1933 only on the condition that Schultz-Hencke would never be part of a non-Jewish board of directors for the German Psychoanalytic Society.<sup>92</sup> Schultz-Hencke's second wife was of Jewish origin, and Schultz-Hencke's personal relationship to National Socialist ideology seems to have been rather distant, but he nevertheless became an important training analyst at the Göring Institute, where he further developed his own neopsychoanalytic approach.<sup>93</sup> Of all the psychoanalysts who remained in Germany, Schultz-Hencke became the lightning rod for Zweig's parody, not only for his concerns about a newly emerging National Socialist version of psychoanalysis, but also for those regarding Freudian orthodoxy.

The beginning of Arnold Zweig's text is deeply sarcastic: "Since the burning of numerous libraries and other destructive acts of the European civil war, a veil has been spread over the creator, to whom a suffering humanity owes the creative feat of psychoanalysis. Thankfully this veil has been lifted by Doctor Henko Schulz." Zweig's send-up then has Doctor Henko Schulz assert that only an Aryan creative genius, not an Israelite, could have lifted the science of psychoanalysis out of the depths of the unconscious. A long chain of associations that minutely parodies psychoanalytic technique leads to two screen memories, the names Jung and Adler. Departing from Freud's first name, Sigmund, Doctor Henko Schulz finally uncovers the name of the true founder of psychoanalysis: it's the Nibelungen hero and "bearer of light" Siegfried, the dragon slayer. Over time, the presence of Siegfried's "Israelite" teacher, Mime, in the saga enabled the imaginary connection between the Jew Freud and Siegfried's psychoanalysis. Siegfried, in his Germanic humility, preferred to become famous for other deeds, and Freud took all the credit. After reestablishing Siegfried as the founding father of psychoanalysis, Doctor Henko Schulz traces his lineage to the present. Other luminaries of the great tradition of Aryan psychoanalysis throughout the times include the philosopher Immanuel Kant, the Viennese ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt (who, Freud believed, had capitalized on his ideas), and the "well-known Aryan poet" Thomas Mann.<sup>94</sup>

Zweig closed his mock research report with the sarcastic wish that future publications of Doctor Henko Schulz may be as inspirational to the German youth as this one. Besides reflecting the general anxiety that the purity of Freud's teachings had been compromised—that is, by Freud's former allies Jung and Adler—Zweig's parody in its outrageousness also targeted what Zweig perceived to lie at the core of a psychoanalysis without Jews: myth and irrationality. Thus he returned

to the conviction (and appeal) that Germans needed Jews to complete and balance their cultural and scientific endeavors.

In his presentation before the PPA, Zweig paired his “research report” with another text that reflected his concerns about intellectual ownership and the identities of founding figures. This second spoof—on Freud’s theories on the authorship of Shakespeare’s works—was titled “Who Wrote Goethe’s Works?”<sup>95</sup> By pairing the questions of whether Freud was really the founder of psychoanalysis and whether Goethe was really the author of Goethe’s works, Zweig implied that both questions were equally ridiculous. Moreover, as in Döblin’s presentation before the committee that awarded the Goethe Prize of the City of Frankfurt to Freud in 1930, Zweig paired Freud with Goethe as an influential giant of the humanist cultural tradition tied to the German language. The language of Freud was also the language of Goethe—one could not be thought of without the other—and German cultural heritage could not and should not be conceived of without either.

While in 1937 a psychoanalysis without Jews might still have seemed an utter absurdity to the analysts of the PPA, who were amused by Zweig’s parodies, the concern that the history of psychoanalysis was being rewritten was not far-fetched. Already in 1934, Jung, who was to play an important role in the reshaping of German psychoanalysis during the Third Reich, wrote that the Jew was a nomad who could never achieve original cultural forms. The Jewish unconscious could not be compared to the Germanic unconscious, and therefore Freud could not have known or described the Germanic soul.<sup>96</sup> Exactly one year before Zweig presented his parody, in May 1936, Freud’s eightieth birthday had been celebrated at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute—shortly before it was incorporated into the Göring Institute. The celebration was a black tie affair—Jews were not welcome. The Jewish analysts and some of their non-Jewish colleagues celebrated separately in private. Only ten years after the glorious celebration of Freud’s seventieth birthday at the grand hotel Esplanade with Einstein and Döblin, the expulsion of Jews from institutionalized psychoanalysis in Germany was complete.<sup>97</sup>

A few months after presenting his “research report,” Zweig had the opportunity to evaluate the Berlin situation during a trip to Holland, and he confirmed some of his concerns: “A non-Jewish psychology was developed as an alternative to the Jewish, no one less than C. G. Jung helped with this, and from the ruling caste a cousin of Hermann Göring stepped into the leadership.” Zweig described how Ernest Jones testified



to having seen the traces of Nazi abuse on the bodies of personal friends, and he was shocked by the disbelief that the psychoanalytic emigrants encountered in their attempts to make their plight public.<sup>98</sup> During the following years in Palestine, Zweig's outrage over the elimination of what he had experienced as Berlin psychoanalysis also led him to ponder the question of what shape psychoanalysis in Germany should take after fascism.

#### PSYCHOANALYTIC REEDUCATION

In October 1941, Zweig wrote to Eitingon about a plan to incorporate the establishment of psychoanalytic kindergartens into the peace treaty with Germany.<sup>99</sup> A few days later Zweig reported to Anna Freud that he was working on the question of "how one can prevent the Germans from indulging for a third time in their favorite pastime."<sup>100</sup> One couldn't and shouldn't eliminate or resettle the German people, but clearly their "psychological levers" had to be readjusted in the long term. Zweig envisioned a compulsory psychoanalytic kindergarten education for children between the ages of three and five. The kindergarten staff was to consist of Anna Freud's Viennese and Swiss collaborators. Their goal was the treatment or isolation of antisocial individuals. Clearly, Zweig wrote, the yearly cost for such a kindergarten system would not surpass the cost of even one day of war, as the American and European governments should be fully aware. Zweig hoped that, through Ernest Jones, Anna Freud could mediate contacts with British political circles, especially those surrounding Churchill, since Zweig had not been able to rally support for his plan in Palestine.<sup>101</sup> From London, Anna Freud responded positively to Zweig's idea, but she considered the execution of the plan unrealistic. According to her, Zweig was too much of an optimist. In her thinking, psychoanalysis did not yet have the kind of public recognition that would be required to assume such an important place in the efforts of postwar reconstruction. Zweig overestimated Jones's political influence.<sup>102</sup> Zweig also wrote to the American diplomat and former Freud patient William C. Bullit in order to advance his kindergarten plan in the United States. When Bullit signaled interest, Eitingon organized an English translation of Zweig's thirty-page exposé "How to Stop Aggression."<sup>103</sup>

The text reads in large part like a manifesto of Zweig's resentment over the fact that the German intellectual emigrants' early warnings of the Nazi peril were largely ignored. Zweig imagined what could have

been avoided if such a system of kindergartens had been established at an earlier point: “It is unimaginable what tragedy could have been averted, if pathological figures like Hitler, Goebbels, Streicher, and Himmler had already as children been isolated in closed facilities and detoxified through psychoanalysis.” Zweig pointed out the successful experience of Anna Freud and August Aichhorn in establishing and propagating a psychoanalytically informed pedagogy in prewar Vienna, but his plan was also inspired by the intensive pedagogical groundwork of the PPA. Eitingon collaborated with a Zionist organization that resettled young Jews from Germany and central Europe in Palestine, and other PPA analysts helped to run kibbutz schools.<sup>104</sup>

Zweig also envisioned his kindergarten plan as a follow-up to the discussions of the German section of the PEN Club, which, as early as 1941, engaged the “problem of German reeducation.” Zweig feared that these discussions ignored the international and economical aspects of the problem by shifting it into the realm of national characteristics—for example, by focusing on questions such as whether Germans were more prone to abuse by ruling elites than were other nations. Zweig rejected the idea of a specifically German, fascistic national mentality that excluded the possibility of the parallel existence of “the other Germany” that Zweig—like many other authors in exile—still saw as a possibility. Very much in accordance with Simmel and Döblin’s diagnosis of a moral decay caused by World War I, Zweig described the grinding down of the German *Gesittungskruste* (mantle of civilization) in this war that created favorable conditions for National Socialism.

At times Zweig’s exposé insists on the German-ness of its vision by, for example, wanting to implement the system of kindergartens with “German thoroughness and dutifulness.” On the other hand, it also describes the plan as a specifically Jewish mission to be imposed on the defeated Germans. According to Zweig, the German people would have to muster a significant effort and insight if they were to learn how to bear “the yoke of the Jew Freud” and to appreciate it as a “path to change, to a new source of power, to a recovery of its own soul.” Following Zweig’s logic in *Insulted and Exiled*, not only had the Jews complemented the German psyche, but now they were also rescuing it. Some of Zweig’s passages seem visionary in retrospect, when, for example, he describes a chaos of “guilty victims and masses of sacrificed innocents” entangled in a Dantean hell of war. European intellectuals, wrote Zweig in 1942, would need centuries to sort out these events—with their hands, their minds, and their consciences.

Zweig's initiative for the establishment of psychoanalytic kindergartens in postwar Germany is also related to the research on German youth culture and mentality that the Institute for Social Research conducted in the United States throughout the late 1930s and the 1940s. At the same time as Zweig, Herbert Marcuse considered psychoanalysis as an analytical instrument for the development of postwar educational policies. According to Marcuse, a clear understanding of the psychological makeup of the German youth had to play a key role in the reeducation efforts, because the youth were among of the social groups that had been coerced into National Socialist structures. Reeducation, as described by Marcuse, meant the emancipation and cultivation of liberating forces, which had to be part of the German mentality even in Hitler's Germany.<sup>105</sup> Marcuse's belief in a culturally determined core within the German mentality that could remain unscathed by fascism, and later be tapped into—in other words, the conviction that not all Germans could be Nazis, and that fascism was a historically grown and historically reversible phenomenon—was shared by Zweig and infused the work of both.

While Zweig's ideas of the 1940s were part of a rich discussion in the United States, Zweig himself became more and more isolated in Palestine. His Freudian-Marxian project (along with his rejection of the Hebrew language and the Zionist project) distanced him from the changing PPA. In 1947, shortly before returning to the Russian-occupied sector of Berlin, Zweig remarked in his diary: "It's strange that revolutionary psychoanalysis doesn't revolutionize the psychoanalysts."<sup>106</sup> The estrangement was, at least in part, mutual. The analyst Anna Smeliansky remarked that Zweig was not evolving intellectually.<sup>107</sup> After Eitingon's death, the PPA no longer provided Zweig with the same sense of intellectual community and stimulation that it had when he first emigrated.

Zweig's psychoanalytic interventions in Palestine sparked contemporary discussions on Jewishness and anti-Semitism, not only in the circles of the literary emigration to which they are usually connected, but also within the ongoing project of psychoanalytic Marxism, which can be traced from Vienna to Berlin, from Berlin to Frankfurt, and from Frankfurt and Berlin to Palestine and the United States. The dialogue, and in some instances, synthesis, between psychoanalysis and culture that characterized the Berlin Psychoanalytic of the 1920s and early 1930s continued for more than a decade in exile, but attempts to reestablish it in Berlin after World War II failed. Zweig saw the end of an

era in which Freudian psychoanalytic institutes worldwide were considered think tanks of cultural and social renewal.

Zweig was deeply distressed by the destruction of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, which had so shaped his work with the PPA. Upon his return to East Berlin in 1948, he revisited the site of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. "My readers will have trouble imagining my feelings which moved me upon my return after fifteen years of this progressive work [he's referring to his work with the PPA], when I found the Wiechmannstrasse in West Berlin, where the institute and the polyclinic had been, as an unrecognizable field of rubble."<sup>108</sup> His attempts to reconnect with the psychoanalytic scene in both East and West Berlin remained inconsequential, especially after the foundation of the German Democratic Republic, where his interest in psychoanalysis was not supported.<sup>109</sup> After the death of Max Eitingon's wife, Mirra Eitingon, in 1947, Zweig sensed that he had lost more than a dear friend. The death of the Eitingons marked the end of his public engagement with psychoanalysis. His notebook spells it out: "The door has closed for good."

## Berlin Dada and Psychoanalysis in New York

*Richard Huelsenbeck and Charles Hulbeck  
Talk to Karen Horney*

This final chapter presents a different story of exile, ending, and continuity for the Berlin Psychoanalytic. Richard Huelsenbeck's trajectory from agent of the Berlin Dada art movement to its living testimonial, and from Berlin psychiatry and psychoanalysis to New York psychoanalysis and, finally, psychiatry again, occurred at the very moment when Freudian psychoanalysis in the United States ceased to be part of the cultural avant-garde and became a psychiatric discipline. Huelsenbeck met Horney in his Berlin years, after the BPI had become an important institution of Weimar Berlin intellectual life. Horney was to become a crucial psychoanalytic interlocutor for Huelsenbeck during his exile in New York. His interest in maintaining a connection between artistic expression and psychoanalytic practice ultimately led him to engage with both existential psychoanalysis and select aspects of psychoanalytic Marxism.

Whereas the experience of fascism and exile became a crucial motor in Arnold Zweig's deployment of psychoanalytic theory, Huelsenbeck's main motivation was to illuminate the relationship between self, art, and the world. Huelsenbeck's psychoanalytic writings from his New York years rework the history of modernism—he reinterprets Dada, the aesthetic revolt against World War I, as an existential mode. His writings from this period also implicitly rework modernist fantasies, including the racial fantasies that appeared in Groddeck's work and the images of sexuality that dominated Weimar Republic Berlin. If Zweig's

dilemma was what he came to see in his increasing isolation as the end of a revolutionary psychoanalysis, Huelsenbeck's dilemma is accentuated by the successful streamlining of Freudian (and Horneyan) psychoanalysis as a science executed by clinicians, which had its roots in discussions about lay analysis and the limits of psychoanalytic thought before 1933. Like the first chapter on Döblin, this chapter makes a case for reading psychoanalytic and literary texts not as completely separate genres with different concerns, but as texts that can share narratives, images, and strategies.

The Austrian émigré and sociologist Edith Kurzweil describes the path from European psychoanalysis to American ego- or self-psychology. She states that the émigré psychoanalysts of the 1930s and 1940s gave psychiatry a whole new direction and spread "psychoanalytic ideas to the entire culture—to practices of child rearing, social work and general medicine."<sup>1</sup> Sander Gilman argues that part of this success of European psychoanalysis in the United States resulted from its insistence on its status as a natural science, which was a reaction to early attacks and its marginalization from the European university system.<sup>2</sup> Analyzing the transfer of psychological schools other than the psychoanalytic ones from the European to the American context, the historian of science Mitchell Ash demonstrates how émigré psychologists were able to incorporate their methods into the university networks and also into other disciplines. However, in the process they shifted toward a technocratic orientation and a preference for group data, and struggled to adapt their more holistic approach to the American context.<sup>3</sup> These shifts and this struggle also define Huelsenbeck's trajectory from his European psychiatric training and his encounter with the BPI to his years as a New York psychoanalyst and, later, psychiatrist.

#### DOCTOR DADA: FROM PSYCHIATRY TO PSYCHOANALYSIS

In March 1942, Karen Horney wrote to Charles R. Hulbeck that she was very pleased that he was interested in the subject of her recent book on self-analysis, but concerned about the status of his application to the American Institute for Psychoanalysis, which had not yet arrived. Two weeks later, she wrote again: "This time I did receive your application and was very much impressed with the diversified nature of your interests and studies. Before endorsing it, I should like to have some personal contact with you. Could you, for instance, have lunch with me either

on Tuesday or Monday, next week at 1 o'clock?"<sup>4</sup> Given Dr. Hulbeck's unusual resume, Horney would have known that she was meeting the physician and Dadaist whom she had met two decades earlier in Berlin under the name Richard Huelsenbeck.<sup>5</sup> Huelsenbeck and his family had arrived in New York in March of 1936. A year later, with the help of Albert Einstein, Huelsenbeck was able to get his 1922 Prussian physician's license recognized, which put him in the exceptional position of being able to practice medicine in New York without further studies or even an exam. Most German émigrés, like Döblin, were not able to continue their practices in exile.

Huelsenbeck changed his name to Charles R. Hulbeck in 1939.<sup>6</sup> He wanted, as he wrote, to forget about the past and become a different person: "I wanted to experience the split in modern man through a complete loss of my identity."<sup>7</sup> In contrast to the impression Huelsenbeck himself gave, which has been perpetuated in other biographical accounts, his reinvention took several years. In fact, by the time he changed his name, Huelsenbeck had already been leading a double existence as an artist and a physician for several decades.

The son of a pharmacist, Richard Huelsenbeck was born in 1892 in the small Hessian town of Frankenau near Kassel, and grew up in Westphalia.<sup>8</sup> In 1911 he began his studies, alternating between places (Munich, Paris, and Münster) and fields of study (literature, art history, philosophy, and medicine). In Munich, Huelsenbeck began his long-term collaboration with the artist and writer Hugo Ball, at first on the magazine *Revolution*, which counted Gottfried Benn, Klabund, and Else Lasker-Schüler among its contributors, and which eventually published a special edition in support of the psychoanalyst Otto Gross, whose arrest, as mentioned in the previous chapter, also drew Arnold Zweig's interest. Huelsenbeck volunteered for military service at the beginning of World War I, but then changed his mind and managed to be released for "neuralgia" after several months. He credited the war with his increased focus on his medical studies. At that point he was already enrolled in Berlin and was writing for the expressionist magazine *Die Aktion*. While there is ample documentation on Huelsenbeck's thriving career as a Dadaist in the following years, the accounts of his medical and psychoanalytic studies in Zurich and Berlin during the war years are contradictory and, insofar as they are based on Huelsenbeck himself, probably not entirely reliable, since it became a matter of existence for him to present solid training credentials while in exile. In his autobiographical writings, Huelsenbeck mentions his psychiatric

teachers Karl Bonhoeffer in Berlin, Emil Kraepelin in Munich, and Eugen Bleuler in Zurich: “Bonhoeffer . . . was not only a great psychiatrist, but also a great human being. Kraepelin was the first person who classified mental diseases, but his point of view was purely clinical, and he knew little of mental disease of the time in which we all live. Bleuler created the term schizophrenia, but he explained it as an inner biological conflict and not as a cultural disease. It was still the clinic that explained the disease, and not the situation of the human being in society.”<sup>9</sup>

This representation of Bleuler is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that Bleuler was director of the Burghölzli hospital near Zurich, which became a thriving center for psychoanalytic thought before World War I. Many of Freud’s early followers had worked there, including Jung; Abraham Brill, the founder of the New York Psychoanalytic Society; Karl Abraham, the founder of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute; Ludwig Binswanger, the founder of existential psychoanalysis; and Charlot Strasser, the husband of Huelsenbeck’s first analyst. Huelsenbeck’s evaluation is written from the perspective of existentialist psychoanalysis, in which he became increasingly involved before adopting a more Marcusean civilizational critique.

Of his psychiatric teachers, Bonhoeffer was the most formative. Beginning in 1912, Bonhoeffer was the director of the psychiatric unit at the Berlin Charité and one of the leading authorities of his time in the field of psychosis. He was also, as the historian Paul Lerner has documented, a key figure in the wartime psychiatric discourse on war neurosis, which he described in terms of hysteria, albeit not in the Freudian sense as sexual in origin.<sup>10</sup> The sexologist Arthur Kronfeld worked with Bonhoeffer, and so did Karen Horney, who wrote her dissertation on traumatic psychosis with him in 1915. Horney’s dissertation related a case of psychosis caused by a blow to the head, which she believed to be the organic catalyst for a psychological predisposition to dementia, an analysis that reflected her tightrope walk between psychoanalysis and psychiatry.<sup>11</sup> Huelsenbeck worked as a medical intern at the Charité and, for a brief period in 1923, became Bonhoeffer’s assistant.

Earlier, in April 1918, after medical studies in Berlin, Zurich, and Greifswald, Huelsenbeck had been required to return to military duty and had worked as a military doctor in Fürstenwalde. In 1922 he lived and worked in Danzig with the neurologist Adolf Wallenberg, who is still known for the specific stroke syndrome named after him.<sup>12</sup> Largely basing his work on anatomical studies, Wallenberg also wrote on the neurology of sensation and pain, and emphasized in his work that



sensory and motor processes could not be separated from the “unity of the nervous system.”<sup>13</sup> While Huelsenbeck later claimed to have received a medical degree from Berlin in 1922, no records of his dissertation could be found. In the following years, Huelsenbeck worked with Bonhoeffer at the Charité in private practice, “on a panel of physicians in a National Health clinic,” and as a doctor on board ships journeying to Asia, Africa, and North America, during which time he wrote extensively about his travels.<sup>14</sup>

Where Huelsenbeck’s psychoanalytic training is concerned, Huelsenbeck is said to have been analyzed by everybody from C.G. Jung to Hermann Rorschach—who wouldn’t want to analyze a Dadaist?<sup>15</sup> Huelsenbeck himself wrote about his first analysis during his time at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich with the Adlerian psychoanalyst “Nadja Strasser-Äppelbaum,” whom he had met through the writer Leonhard Frank. He was referring to the Russian psychoanalyst Vera Strasser-Eppelbaum (1884–1941).<sup>16</sup> Her husband was the psychoanalyst Charlot Strasser (1884–1950), who temporarily edited Adler’s *Journal for Individual Psychology* while Adler was working as a military doctor in World War I. Charlot Strasser analyzed Dadaists such as Tristan Tzara, the painter Christian Schad, and the crime writer Friedrich Glauser, and wrote the 1933 roman à clef *Vermin around the Lantern Glare* about his experiences of psychoanalyzing the Zurich émigré scene.<sup>17</sup> The Strasser couple became active in the Zionist movement. Huelsenbeck claimed to know very little about psychoanalysis at that point—“the name Adler [German for “eagle”] had cropped up only in my zoology book”—and displayed some Dadaist attitude toward his analyst: “I shrugged my shoulders. Sexual, shmexual—who cared?” Huelsenbeck’s posthumous description of Strasser-Eppelbaum is written for comic effect, but still seems unkind: “Frau Nadja was one of those people who love to break out in sudden enthusiasm. ‘Oh, how lovely! Oh, how, interesting!’ she would constantly exclaim. She appeared to be telling you that psychoanalysis had loosened enough of her unconscious. Thus, every ‘Oh, how lovely!’ camouflaged a ‘Don’t you see how well I’ve managed to develop and improve my personality? I am the best example of a psychoanalytic success.’”<sup>18</sup>

Huelsenbeck relates that, when he failed to react to a chandelier when it came crashing from the ceiling in the adjacent room, the mood changed, and he realized that Strasser-Eppelbaum suddenly thought that something was seriously wrong with him: “Now I sensed the observing diagnostician in her.” Ironically, he broke off the analysis at that point, and the autobiographical account displays some not entirely

parodic concern with establishing that Strasser's assessment was not to be trusted. However, Huelsenbeck credits the Strassers with saving him from military service in the midst of World War I by providing a medical evaluation to the German consulate.

Horney's biographer Jack Rubins, who relied partly on interviews with Huelsenbeck, relates that Huelsenbeck met Horney at a psychoanalytic meeting in the early 1920s. Horney had started a training analysis with Abraham in 1910, and in 1912 began working with Otto Juliusburger at the Lankwitz hospital while concluding her psychiatric training with Bonhoeffer. She opened a private practice in 1919 and a year later became one of the leading figures in the newly founded Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute. Along with Juliusburger, an early member of Abraham's psychoanalytic circle, who made an appearance as a trial expert in Döblin's *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, and her friend and colleague Carl Müller-Braunschweig, Horney was connected to many figures from Weimar Republic sexology, such as Iwan Bloch and Heinrich Koerber, who also worked at Lankwitz.

In the early 1920s, Horney was still trying to integrate her critique of Freud's conception of femininity into a Freudian framework.<sup>19</sup> She rejected Abraham's assumptions of an inherent inferiority of the female sex, and of a direct link between inherent penis envy and the female castration complex. Horney argued that the female castration complex—the experience of womanhood as inferior and the desire to be a man—which she termed the “masculinity complex,” were a result of later developments: the specific way in which girls had to resolve the Oedipus complex, but also the specific family situation. While Horney saw the “masculinity complex” as biological in origin, the “flight from womanhood” could be reinforced by social factors such as brutality and hostility toward women. This idea also appears in Döblin's representation of the brutalized Elli Link, who is described in such a way that she assumes a psychologically masculine role in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* (see chapter 1). As mentioned in chapter 2, Horney was frustrated with the gender politics of the BPI and expressed this in her correspondence with Groddeck. The early twenties were also privately tumultuous for Horney: her marriage progressively deteriorated until its end in 1926. In those years, she also met the leftist theologian Paul Tillich, whose views were formative to her psychoanalytic understanding during her later years in New York. Horney was a frequent visitor to the Romanisches Café, like many other psychoanalysts at the BPI and many writers, such as Döblin and Huelsenbeck.

Huelsenbeck was interviewed at the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute and attended Horney's courses in the late twenties. Rubins, Horney's biographer, describes an instant connection between the two: "Impressed by her intelligence, he was first drawn to her by an intuitive sense that she was an individualist, a rebel, just as he was a revolutionary."<sup>20</sup> Huelsenbeck talked to Horney about his world travels and discussed his idea of Dada as a "personal search for some impossible ideal." Uwe Henrik Peters relates that Huelsenbeck underwent a training analysis by the Zurich psychoanalyst Hans Behn-Eschenbach before conducting his own analyses in his doctor's office in the Friedenau neighborhood of Berlin.<sup>21</sup> It is clear that, before World War II, Huelsenbeck worked with a wide range of psychoanalytic theories and was open to a variety of approaches.

#### DADA BERLIN AND THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC

Huelsenbeck gives a vivid picture of postwar Berlin, which was clearly inspired by the artist he met during that period (probably in 1917, earlier than he remembers):

I first met George Grosz in Berlin in 1919, a time when rats were scurrying through the streets, shots bursting on every corner, and the lost war filled all the people with a deep despair, the like of which had never been previously experienced by an entire nation. In crowded coffeehouses, poets and dealers in illegal cocaine could be seen in conversation until the great influenza epidemic brought unexpected death to many people who had rejoiced at surviving the war. In Berlin, death was furnished with all the bad instincts, and the rats replaced the symbol of the German eagle, who had been smashed on the battlefields.<sup>22</sup>

While the first Dada Berlin soirées were designed to delineate the Dadaists as separate from the expressionist movement, Dada Berlin soon politicized around the topic of the war and its social consequences. The increasing popular fascination with psychoanalysis was not lost on the Dadaists. Otto Gross's revolutionary psychoanalytic theory, which could be described both as one of the earliest attempts to politicize the id and as a predecessor to Wilhelm Reich's Sexpol theory, had great influence on Franz Jung, Raoul Hausmann, and Hannah Höch. Hugo Ball, who had retired from Dada Zurich by 1917, frequently met with a psychoanalyst to discuss Freud's works and to prepare a project on "exorcism and psychoanalysis."<sup>23</sup> In the texts of Dada Berlin, psychoanalysis frequently made an appearance—either as the scientific

reaction to a corrupt and rotten bourgeois culture or as the “psycho-banalysis” (Hausmann) in league with a psychologizing aestheticism. “Revelations. Historic Endsport with Pacifist Tote Winnings,” Walter Mehring’s 1920 *parcours* through the collective unconscious of Weimar Republic intellectuals, is laid out like one of Keyserling’s travels into his own mind, a sort of miniature world of contemporary concerns, a “tour round Dadayama,” and includes Döblin’s expressionist vision of China, Hirschfeld’s vocabulary of transvestitism, and “sexual-symbolically round Freud-Parks.”<sup>24</sup> The doctor and Dadaist Karl Döhmman, known to his readers as Daimonides or Edgar Firn, parodied the psychoanalysis craze in his depiction of the internationally flourishing “Institute of Dr. Leichenstein,” where high-strung *fräuleins* are advised on how best to commit suicide without risking an “*exitus interruptus*.” Döhmman—a well-known figure in the postwar Berlin bohemian circles and friend of Huelsenbeck, Döblin, and Mynona—was, among other things, a writer, photographer, and composer while he ran a practice specializing in dermatology and venereal diseases on the corner of Uhlandstrasse and Kurfürstendamm.<sup>25</sup>

During a seminar at the Swiss Jung Institute in the early 1960s, the former Dadaist and filmmaker Hans Richter described the unconscious as a central category in the relationship between Dada and psychoanalysis: “Of course we had heard already at the time, about 1916, somehow of the ideas of Freud and some of us also of Jung and Adler, but what we meant with the unconscious was not a clinical dimension but our personal and new discovery of unheard possibilities for creative expression.”<sup>26</sup> It was not the analytical look but the mechanisms of the unconscious, repression, and displacement, along with the temporal and sensory simultaneity and anarchy of the id, that inspired Dada aesthetics. Brigid Doherty has described the “trauma of Dada montage” in relation to the psychiatric discourse on war neurosis. While Charité psychiatrists were reviewing Dada texts, Berlin Dada imagined an audience of “traumatophiles.”<sup>27</sup> Certainly, the discussions around the BPI on war neurosis and its sociopsychological manifestations in postwar Berlin (most active members of the BPI, including Simmel, Abraham, and Eitingon, had been deployed during the war) provided an important arsenal of theory and imagery for Dada Berlin to engage thematically and aesthetically.

Huelsenbeck’s novel *Doctor Billig at the End* picks up on this discourse in its depiction of an urban collective unconscious that has been traumatized by war violence. In 1921, three years after it was

written—essentially serving as a bookend to the dissolving Dada movement—*Doctor Billig at the End* was published with illustrations by George Grosz. The Dada scholar Karl Riha has suggested the affinity between this novel of the metropolis and both Heinrich Mann’s *The Subject* (1918) and Döblin’s *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1929), a connection that deserves a closer look.<sup>28</sup> Like Mann’s Professor Unrat—the protagonist of another Mann novel, on which the 1930 film *Blue Angel* was based—and like Franz Biberkopf, Dr. Walter Billig descends into an underworld that humiliates and transforms him. The civil servant Billig meets the seductive femme fatale Margot, the “soul of war profiteering,” at the racetrack, takes part in her obscure business affairs, and becomes her lover and part of her circle, which includes other bourgeois types, such as a racehorse owner, a journalist, a major, and a doctor.

Dr. Kastanis, the doctor in Margot’s bourgeois circle, first peddles “hygienic bathtubs,” then homeopathy, until he opens the sanatorium Sanabi somewhere in the west, with Margot as his main investor. Kastanis advertises Sanabi in the movie theaters and via hired “Negroes,” who pass out flyers at train stations. In the name of the public good, the *Volkswohl*, he treats both the poor and the social elite. Because of his connections to the nobility, Kastanis decides to give up his atheism and turn to “God, and ‘our father against whom we can’t do a thing.’”<sup>29</sup> Both his play on the double meaning of *father* in this passage, and the fact that the name *Kastanis* contains *Satan*, suggests that Huelsenbeck was sending up Groddeck and his Satanarium. Surrounded by women, Kastanis scientifically studies seductive and evil femininity (which might at times be mistaken for masculinity or criminality). Eagerly taking notes, he seeks confirmation of his theories in his “scientific conversations” with Margot and finds joy in Billig’s mental undoing.<sup>30</sup>

Billig’s love for Margot sends him into complete regression: in his “attacks of lust” he wails like a child for her love. However, Margot also orders him to dominate her and allows Billig to see himself as “a German man” when it strikes her fancy. The novel is permeated with a tension that is as much sexual as it is violent, a tension that is ready to release itself in spontaneous bursts from deep down in the city’s instinctual underworld: “From the depths of the cloacae the councilors of commerce cry for help. One should get the fire brigade to finally regulate the sexual relations in this city.”<sup>31</sup>

After wounding Margot’s journalist friend in a duel, Billig stumbles upon the body of Margot’s friend the major, who has been murdered in Margot’s apartment. Billig is torn between his horror and his satisfaction

at this sadistic scene. In Huelsenbeck's imagery, World War I, the war of the sexes, and the war against the poor become indistinguishable from one another. In Billig's revenge fantasies and memories, we see the annihilation of women—he imagines executing thousands of naked women from a pulpit with a machine gun—as well as the all-powerful sadist Margot, who beats a distraught, pleading mother and slaughters her own lovers. The location of the major's murder conjures up memories of cinematographic and literary pornography, of gambling, and of violence. The reversal of morality is sacralized in Billig's fantasy, and the divine instruments are complemented by modern tools of mass indoctrination: "The only thing missing is a pastor to wrap it all up into a beautiful speech. We have to do a procession with silk canopy, incense and choir boys—and I will carry the gramophone and the cinematographic apparatus."<sup>32</sup>

Dr. Billig's cruel descent ends on the street, where he leads the life of a vagrant alcoholic among the urban masses. When he believes he has caught a glimpse of Margot in a passing car, he chases after her, falls, and splits his head open. In the final, laconic sentence, he is quickly scooped up in a wheelbarrow and taken to the hospital. This ending evokes a crucial scene in Heinrich Mann's *The Subject*, in which the bourgeois opportunist Diederich Heßling runs enthusiastically behind the emperor and falls into the muddy street. However, Billig's object of adoration combines the perfumed airs of an "international cocotte" with barely containable violence, and while Mann satirizes Heßling's sexual hypocrisy for the reader's amusement, Huelsenbeck's economy of desire is more complex and inescapable, and it aims to implicate the reader by addressing him or her explicitly as the trapped civil servant about to experience the brutality of life.

Huelsenbeck's *Doctor Billig at the End* presents a departure from Mann's literary style and should be read as an important model for Döblin's *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. If *Berlin Alexanderplatz* presents the explosion of a proletarian soul, as I argued in the first chapter, *Doctor Billig* explores a similar narrative strategy for the bourgeois soul. The following passage provides a good example of Huelsenbeck's multiperspectivity, his interweaving of different types of language: random dialogue, inner monologue, and different social registers, as well as other languages, sound, and descriptions of urban sites and life:

On 15.IX. about 5 o'clock in the evening, Billig received a note that instructed him to come the apartment on B. Square. Once again, Billig saw himself thrust from his ordinary circumstances, he lived from one meeting

with Margot to the next, didn't think of working, vegetated among the sensations of the streets and squares like a drunkard. The moon stood over the roofs, the rain had stopped very suddenly, and a wind stood on the squares, which drove the women's skirts upward. People accumulated into high waves, breaking over his head. Then he found himself at the entrance of the subway, where a confusing noise and the warmth of excited bodies circled around the grates. Women with protruding bellies and sunken cheeks hung on to the corners of the subway cars, a man with a red face and a big demanding moustache was staring intently at Billig. One saw through the darkness, from which blue sparks leaped, into the open land with trees whipped together by the wind, the cities pent up by the fury of the storm, the thousand illuminated factories, in which young girls manufactured grenade shells and smoothed the belts over the transmissions. The skeletons of houses soared in the night, there walked transparent people with heavily timbered coffins on their backs. "I said that she perjured herself," said a woman with a completely innocent face and soft barely kissed lips next to Billig. . . . As through a window, one saw into the fate of hundreds of people. Three Galician Jews stood next to Billig. They showed each other sullied papers and whispered intently to each other."<sup>33</sup>

From the random pieces of dialogue, to images of the urban as nature, to the encounter with eastern European Jews, this passage informed Döblin, who became acquainted with Huelsenbeck at the Café des Westens. Döblin reviewed *Doctor Billig at the End* as "ingenious," emphasizing its "forcefully worked out images."<sup>34</sup>

In *Doctor Billig at the End*, Huelsenbeck engaged in similar ways with many of the same questions that Döblin grappled with in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. As the waves of people break over Billig's head, and Billig's regression progresses, the city becomes part of his mind, and the borders between inside and outside dissolve. Like *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, *Doctor Billig at the End* is a novel with a continuous soundtrack of war violence. The moral breakdown after the war, which Simmel and Döblin described during the same years, is captured in Huelsenbeck's rendition of Margot's decadent and violent soirées, the reckless and corrupt business practices and war profiteering, and the reversal of morals that Billig recognizes at the end of the novel. Huelsenbeck's language also prefigures Wilhelm Reich's politically charged language of the social responsibility to regulate libidinal energies.<sup>35</sup> Huelsenbeck's *Bürger*, however, is out of control, self-destructs, and ends up as a street casualty, never to get up again, unlike his proletarian counterpart, Franz Biberkopf. A Dadaist August Sander of sorts, Huelsenbeck presents the "fate of hundreds of people" in short social typologies interspersed throughout the novel, ordered by professions, ages, gender, and race.

While the figure of the “Negro” as victim serves Huelsenbeck’s anticapitalist critique, the novel’s presentation of a raw, instinctual “Negro” primitivism also falls in line with Freudian readings of race and regression, like those Freud presented in *Totem and Taboo* (1913), and as in Freud’s occasional joking references to his patients as “Negroes.”<sup>36</sup>

## EMIGRATIONS

In contrast to the departures of many of his colleagues in the arts and in psychoanalysis, Huelsenbeck’s emigration was carefully planned over a relatively long period of time. He had become a member of the National Socialist Reichsverband deutscher Schriftsteller and was able to publish until his emigration; however, he mostly focused on his medical practice.<sup>37</sup> Huelsenbeck himself relates that he was able to avoid persecution by the Gestapo only because they did not realize that the Dadaist Huelsenbeck and the practicing physician Huelsenbeck were one and the same person. In an atmosphere where Dadaist art was about to become part of the 1937 Munich exhibit of “degenerate art,” Huelsenbeck felt increasingly threatened. He was able to sell his private practice and obtain documentation from the medical board to facilitate foreign recognition of his credentials. He and his family left for New York in early 1936. After receiving his approbation as a physician in the state of New York in 1937, he worked as an unpaid assistant psychiatrist at New York University Clinic. For a while, he rented an office in the practice of a hormone specialist in order to receive patient referrals. He also listed employment as assistant director of the Brooklyn Child Guidance Clinic. His reacquaintance with Karen Horney in the early 1940s was a professional turning point.

Horney had already left Berlin in 1932 to become the associate director of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute.<sup>38</sup> After disagreements with Franz Alexander in Chicago over issues of psychoanalytic technique, Horney moved to New York in 1934 and started teaching at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute. The publication of her books *The Neurotic Personality* (1937) and *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* (1939) led to a rift between Horney and the institute, which culminated in Horney’s removal from its roster of training analysts in 1941.<sup>39</sup> In these two books, Horney moved away from a theory of sexuality rooted in biology toward a psychoanalytic theory of culture, environment, and personal relations.

Horney and a large group of analysts and students, which included Clara Thompson and Sidney Tacharow (whose discussion of the Jew as



the original dissident was mentioned in the previous chapter), jointly resigned from the institute, founded the American Institute for Psychoanalysis and the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, and began collaborating with the New School for Social Research. Horney herself described her frustration with the New York Psychoanalytic Society in terms similar to those she had used more than a decade earlier to articulate her frustration with the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute: “But the sterility of scientific discussions gave us a feeling of futility because we ran up against a blank wall of petrified dogmatism.” Horney decried the philosophical pessimism behind Freudian psychoanalysis and singled out a lecture by Abraham Brill, the founding figure of psychoanalysis in the United States and the first American translator of Freud’s work, on sex, greed, and cruelty as human motors. In contrast, Horney declared that she believed in the human capacity for both good and evil. In Horney’s ideal, psychoanalysis was to become a “means for liberation and human growth.”<sup>40</sup>

Horney’s group was joined by Erich Fromm and speakers such as Frieda Fromm-Reichmann, Margaret Mead, and Franz Alexander. Fromm was later alienated from the group, however, when Horney challenged his status as a training analyst because of his lack of medical training. During her Berlin years, in her correspondence with Groddeck, Horney had expressed support for lay analysts, but in the United States her call for broader applications of psychoanalysis no longer included the full recognition of lay practitioners. Horney’s declared focus during these years was training psychiatrists to conduct shorter psychoanalytic therapies.<sup>41</sup>

Horney and Huelsenbeck became reacquainted in June 1942, when she was seeking support for her new association and helped Huelsenbeck to gain U.S. approbation as a psychiatrist. Huelsenbeck underwent a short training analysis with Horney, and he credits her with sending him many patients, enough that after 1945 he was able to afford a suite at 88 Central Park West, where, as he proudly stated, Brill had once lived.<sup>42</sup> This address on the Upper West Side was at the heart of one of the New York communities of Jeckes, which the historian Atina Grossmann portrays as an upgraded, more cosmopolitan version of the world of Weimar Berlin with its German-language cafés, orchestras, and sexual counseling clinics.<sup>43</sup> However, Huelsenbeck’s move to this address also indicated that he was leaving behind the existence of a struggling refugee and was well on his way to becoming part of the wealthier, successful segment of German immigrants.

Huelsenbeck became an active member of Horney's American Institute for Psychoanalysis and its Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis. He also lectured at the New School for Social Research. For several years Huelsenbeck served as both treasurer and councilor and as a member of the journal committee for the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*. As part of the institute's training faculty, he taught a course sequence titled "Readings in Psychoanalysis," which included the works of Freud and a wide range of psychoanalytic readings by Adler, Ferenczi, Fromm, Fromm-Reichmann, Jung, Rank, Reich, and Horney. Huelsenbeck was part of the institute's interim board of trustees until it was replaced in 1949.

Around this time, Huelsenbeck ceased to appear in the annual membership and teaching staff listings of Horney's institute, because he chose instead to focus more on his thriving private practice. Huelsenbeck himself cited his failure as a Dadaist as one of the reasons why he left the Horney group, even though he never officially resigned (I will return to this unusual reason). He became interested in Ludwig Binswanger's existential analysis (*Daseinsanalyse*) and cofounded the New York Onto-analytical Society.<sup>44</sup> However, he continued his active participation in the institute's scientific meetings and in a popular lecture series that the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis organized as a public outreach program at the institute and at the New York Academy of Medicine, and which continued well into the 1960s. (For example, the lecture series "Modern Orientations in Psychoanalysis," held at the Henry Hudson Hotel in 1946, had an average attendance of 350 people. Huelsenbeck's segment was titled "Psychoanalysis in Our Time.") He lectured widely on technical issues in psychoanalytic therapy, on marriage, on art and creativity, and later on existentialism and psychoanalysis.<sup>45</sup> The change in Huelsenbeck's psychoanalytic thought over the course of several decades is apparent in his many lectures and articles. Huelsenbeck also became an adjunct staff member of the Karen Horney Clinic, which was founded in 1955, a few years after Horney's death, and was modeled on the BPI polyclinic to provide low-cost psychoanalysis.

Despite their theoretical differences, Horney and Huelsenbeck remained friendly. Horney took painting lessons from Huelsenbeck in the early 1940s, during which time they became close. In retrospect, he described her as follows:

Horney was a marvelous woman, highly intelligent, creative, good-natured, and yet, practical. What she did—and it really was a revolutionary thing to do—was to introduce the environment (men as well as things)—in other

words, the “culture,” politics, the way of life into theoretical psychoanalysis, as one of the possible causes of neurosis. Freudianism paled before Horney’s activity. Man was looked at as a whole, and his behavior was a part of his own strength, no longer exclusively dependent on the possibility that Mama had touched the patient’s genitals when he was very young. Psychoanalysis through Horney, became a study of creativity, not of intellectual findings.<sup>46</sup>

It is telling that, in hindsight, Huelsenbeck focuses on Horney’s reevaluation of both Freud’s sexual theory and his theory of repression. In Huelsenbeck’s later existential approach, the present and the general existential human condition mattered more to the psychoanalytic work than the patient’s past.

Huelsenbeck’s public involvement with Horney’s psychoanalytic thought began in the midst of World War II, but in contrast to his earlier, very vocal critique of World War I, his later writings contain few references to the war or fascism. In an unpublished wartime piece on Jung, Huelsenbeck defended Jung against claims that he sympathized with the National Socialists, especially those made by the Swiss analyst Gustav Bally, a fellow student of Bleuler.<sup>47</sup> Huelsenbeck referred to Jung’s “Seelenprobleme der Gegenwart” (1931): “I mention this article only on account of some opinions about Jung’s political opinions in regard to the recent developments in Germany. This article states clearly Jung’s definite aversions against Nazism and his rejection of any regulated science in the sense of totalitarian countries.”<sup>48</sup>

To Huelsenbeck, Jung was no mystic, but a pluralist who took in other psychoanalytic approaches. His differences with Horney’s theories, as Huelsenbeck described them, lay in Jung’s definition of conflict, which did not play out in two parts of the mind, but rather within the natural drives and “the spiritual endeavor of man for self-realization.” While Huelsenbeck read Jung’s theory with sympathy, he clearly distinguished his own practice from Jungian psychoanalysis in, for example, the use of free association. Huelsenbeck frequently cited and borrowed from Jung, especially in later works, but he did not become a Jungian psychoanalyst, as some secondary literature on Huelsenbeck erroneously claims.

#### DR. HULBECK’S TRAJECTORY: CULTURALISM, EXISTENTIALISM, AND THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

The psychoanalytic essays that Huelsenbeck published in the *American Journal of Psychoanalysis* are erudite philosophical and literary critiques. In contrast to Keyserling’s psychoanalytic contributions, which

also describe human creativity as a transcendent experience, Huelsenbeck's essays are to the point. Huelsenbeck's concern for the source of creativity and the standing of the artist in psychoanalytic theory slowly evolved into a broader cultural critique of what he perceived as an anxiety-creating American mentality of efficiency and success. In his 1945 essay "The Creative Personality," Huelsenbeck revolted against the common alignment of the artist and the neurotic in psychoanalysis. Understanding and appreciating human creativity as a "self-willed process" was central to his critique of Freud: "While the creative personality is a human being marching toward a definite goal using all the psychological mechanisms to reach it, Freud's man is liberated but essentially passive and without moral understanding."<sup>49</sup> Huelsenbeck still emphasized Horney's culturalist standpoint that "man is a product of the environment," but he insisted on a "sense of confidence" that was derived not only from sociality but also from the act of shaping one's own life.

In "Completeness-Incompleteness" (1956), Huelsenbeck's movement toward existential psychoanalysis is more marked. He distances himself further from Freud and questions the psychoanalytic chain of cause and effect, which Döblin also questioned in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. Relying on an architectural metaphor, Huelsenbeck argued that a house has a historical performance as well as an immediate, phenomenological performance. The latter is more important in psychoanalytic work, which succeeds if the patient accepts change and chance as intrinsic parts of life and learns to integrate his opposing needs for completeness and incompleteness. What Horney considered "reality" became an ontological problem to Huelsenbeck, and what Groddeck insisted was "no accident" became the principle of chance to Huelsenbeck.

A few years later, Huelsenbeck elaborated his practice and understanding of the psychoanalytic process in "Three Creative Phases in Psychoanalysis" (1963). In this essay, Huelsenbeck distinguishes the "encounter," the "dialogue," and the "process of articulation." The encounter is a creative vacuum yet to be filled; it presents a "collision of two worlds." The dialogue that follows it presents a basis for reasoned analysis. Resistance was not caused by transference but by "difficulties in understanding the need to accept logos," despite its relative value. In contrast to classic Freudian psychoanalysis or to Groddeck's model of the patient-guided analysis, Huelsenbeck's dialogue allowed for more explicit guidance from the analyst. In the final step, the articulation, the patient accepts the possibility of a meaning to life and decides to act so

as to give his life this meaning. Huelsenbeck likened the articulation to modern poetry: “In modern poetry and literature the principle of reducing the aesthetic elements to a minimum without which the work cannot be done goes through a process similar to what psychoanalysts have to do with their patients. Just as the sound poems reflect such basic emotions as hatred, love, etc., so are basic emotions and attitudes, as we find them in the psychoanalytical work, revealed in the process of articulation, which is an analytical and creative process at the same time.”<sup>50</sup>

To Huelsenbeck, the avant-garde of the 1950s and 1960s were successors to Dada, and as creators of existential exercises they were close to the psychoanalytic enterprise. Like abstract art, the final therapeutic stage (psychoanalytic articulation) presents the wish to restart completely from the beginning and, to pick up on Huelsenbeck’s existentialist metaphors, to wipe the canvas clean and paint it black.

In “The Existential Mood in American Psychiatry” (1964), Huelsenbeck asserted that psychiatry in Europe turned away from psychoanalysis a decade earlier than in the United States. However, he did not mention fascism or the persecution of Freudian psychoanalysis as a factor, only Freud’s neglect of intentionality.<sup>51</sup> From this point on, Huelsenbeck used the term *psychiatry* for *psychoanalysis*, which indicates not just a major shift in his understanding of his profession but also a shift in the role of institutionalized psychoanalysis in the United States. Huelsenbeck defined psychiatry as an existential activity, although not an atheistic exercise. Relying on Edmund Husserl’s phenomenology and Paul Tillich’s existentialist theology, Huelsenbeck argued that gaining confidence was the basis for participation in the divine spirit—therapy was more than a “two-way affair.”

In his 1970 essay “The Irrational and the Nature of Basic Anxiety,” Huelsenbeck moved away from transcendental language and presented another turn in his thought, this time toward Herbert Marcuse’s psychoanalytic critique of capitalism.<sup>52</sup> Throughout the text, Huelsenbeck implicitly and explicitly critiqued Fromm’s personality theory for not taking into account sudden life changes. To Huelsenbeck, Fromm’s idea of love in *The Art of Loving* (1956) was a naive humanism that bypassed Nietzsche’s modernity: aggression and hate were necessary forces. Huelsenbeck’s central category was now expression—of love as well as of hate. Huelsenbeck diagnosed the student revolts of the late 1960s as a struggle for the possibility of expression. Quoting from Marcuse’s *One-Dimensional Man*, Huelsenbeck wrote, “Civilization in its

computer state is likely to make a number out of man, to adjust him to obedience rather than to expression of himself. A civilization like ours has freedom on its lips but represses the expression of freedom wherever it collides with the interests of the ruling economic or intellectual classes.”<sup>53</sup> The struggle for expression was also a struggle for a new reality and a new authenticity.

Huelsenbeck likened the student movement’s search for shock effect to Dada, since the Dadaists also questioned conventional notions of culture. To him, the Dadaists were the first existentialists and, in some sense, the first successful psychoanalysts: “As the law of chance is the essential psychological stumbling block of the neurotic and the psychotic, the Dadaists in their unprofessional attitude went further than the psychologists of their time who then did not even think of Sigmund Freud.”<sup>54</sup> While Huelsenbeck acknowledged the rise in basic anxiety related to the development of a capitalist society, he still adhered to the idea that recognizing chance and the irrational in life had curative power. However, this recognition was very different from the ideology of self-fulfillment: “A psychiatrist may tell a patient a thousand times to fulfill himself. This will not be successful if the patient is exposed to unpredictable situations.” Constant intellectualizations, not medications, were helpful, according to Huelsenbeck, who at this stage favored pragmatic advice in the doctor’s office.

During his years of psychoanalytic practice in the United States, Huelsenbeck witnessed the embedding of psychoanalysis into the psychiatric profession and the advent of the first wave of mass-prescribed psychopharmaceuticals. The historian Eli Zaretsky describes this development as the institutionalization and rationalization of psychoanalysis, which was characterized by a positivistic notion of science, a lack of self-reflection on psychoanalysis and the psychoanalyst’s role, medicalization, and depoliticization.<sup>55</sup> Historian Russell Jacoby has conceived of this depoliticization as an essential part of the “Americanization” of psychoanalysis. Jacoby’s 1983 study *The Repression of Psychoanalysis* famously argued that the medicalization of psychoanalysis served as a “human filter” for the American Freudian establishment to keep out “mavericks, dissenters, intellectuals, humanists, and other ‘irregular’ individuals” (against what presumably would have been Freud’s wishes).<sup>56</sup> Having turned to existential psychoanalysis, where the “self” was described in relation to “being,” Huelsenbeck never became an ego psychologist in the fifties, nor was he now willing to engage the

new vocabulary of “motivation” and “fulfillment.” And while he saw himself as a psychiatrist by the midsixties, he drew the line at the prescription block.

## DADANALYSIS

In Huelsenbeck’s writing, there is a strange tension between his insistence on an overlap between the Dada avant-garde and psychoanalysis (or psychiatry)—for example, in his description of Dada as the precursor of psychoanalysis, and his simultaneous insistence on a clear separation between science and literature. This is a tension that Huelsenbeck also expressed in autobiographical terms as an irreconcilable double identity. In contrast to Döblin’s playful and ultimately subversive depiction of the doctor and the writer, who don’t really understand or like one another, Huelsenbeck did not question the split, but gave it a fateful, even tragic, meaning.

In his 1969 memoirs, he described how his double identity—Huelsenbeck the Dadaist and Hulbeck the doctor—might have saved his life when the Gestapo went looking for him, but how, for him personally, his split was part of a conflict that followed him all his life and ultimately could be resolved only by his decision to leave the United States for Switzerland in order to be a Dadaist again.<sup>57</sup> In the States, Huelsenbeck felt he was a success as a doctor but a failure as a Dadaist, because he could never fully make the meaning of Dada clear to an American audience: “Dada was the beginning of the revolution of the suppressed personality against technology, mass media, and the feeling of being lost in an ocean of business cleverness. Dada is a form of humanism—not the humanism of the German classics, but a fight for the freedom and the rights of the individual.”<sup>58</sup> Returning to the Swiss Dadaist sources, Huelsenbeck professed wanting “to be a hippie again,” albeit one with short hair and a well-fitting suit. He also wanted to continue working as a doctor.<sup>59</sup>

Huelsenbeck’s longing for the reconciliation of seeming oppositions reflects a dilemma that emerged from the background of a psychoanalytic profession that had stepped back from its agenda to unite scientific and cultural practices. In the 1950s, after Huelsenbeck had, in his own words, decided to disengage from the administration of the American Institute for Psychoanalysis to become a better Dadaist, there were many instances in which he sought to engage the cultural and the scientific practice of psychoanalysis as a single entity. The imagery and rhythm in Huelsenbeck’s psychoanalytic texts verge at times on the literary, when,

for example, he describes (with Alberto Moravia's version of a conformist in mind) the type of one-sided man who strives only for completeness while ignoring its opposite: "This man, this product, adheres to all the compulsive rules of success: he speaks with a sweet voice, he does the 'right' things, he never objects, he is a 'smooth operator,' slick, shrewd and brutal. He kills his enemies with regret and rationalizes his ugliness by having a hobby at home: a dog, a sculpture, or playing the piano. He kills and dabbles in art."<sup>60</sup> The passage, with its contrasting of crude brutality with bourgeois high culture, brings to mind Huelsenbeck's instant social typologies in *Doctor Billig at the End* and could easily be translated into one of George Grosz's illustrations for that novel.

Along with some of the most important avant-garde artists and writers of the time, including Jean Arp, Max Ernst, Alexander Calder, Jean Cocteau, and Paul Bowles, Huelsenbeck took on a role in a 1957 short film by the experimental filmmaker Hans Richter. The film is titled *8 x 8: A Chess Sonata in 8 Movements*, and it professes in its opening statement to use chess "as did [Lewis] Carroll, as the plane, the board on which all things which happen in life, are also happening[,] . . . only transformed symbolic, but not less real." Huelsenbeck read the film as a commentary on the leading personalities of modern art, and he evoked Duchamp's turn from art to chess, in one breath with his own turn to psychiatry, as an irreconcilable divide.<sup>61</sup> However, in answering his son's question about what his daily work had to do with this film, he answered: "I was told psychoanalysis had a great deal to do with it. Melusina, the granddaughter of the famous Matisse [Jacqueline Matisse], trips me; I the knight, supposedly a strong man, fall over a tiny foot. It is the symbol of my end. My armor is removed, or rather she removes it from me, and throws it piece by piece into a sand hole."<sup>62</sup>

Indeed, the film is a surrealist exercise in psychoanalytic symbolism, from the obsessive chess player who can't move his "piece" until the figure of a naked woman emerges in the background, to the "queening of the pawn" which turns Cocteau into a beautiful woman. The musician-poet (Bowles) is torn between "the soothing flute of his inner voice" (Bowles's companion Ahmed Yacoubi) and the hypnotizing telephone. Max and Dorothea Ernst pass a sculpture (their "daily burden") back and forth to each other in the streets of Manhattan.

The movement in which Huelsenbeck performs is titled "Black Schemes." Huelsenbeck plays a threatening knight who tears a queen (Jacqueline Matisse) away from her suitor and subjects her to his will: he pulls her from the tree she is sitting in, forces her to kneel on the ground



and takes away her crown. After she escapes, he searches for her, trips over her naked foot, and falls. She kicks his empty black armor and helmet into a ravine. Huelsenbeck's knight seems confined by his armor—he is stiff, yet brutish and sadistic, enjoys the struggle, and takes great care to analyze the queen's crown. In the greater "scheme" of things, this knight turns out to be a pawn in the queen's game of love. Her suitor dies from her arrows, and the king, who attempts to trap her, catches fire. When she walks away liberated and alone, her footprints slowly fill with water.

Huelsenbeck performed the type of aggressive, self-absorbed masculinity that he frequently described in his psychoanalytic writings. A year before the film came out, he employed fairy-tale imagery in his essay "Completeness-Incompleteness," namely, that of the "modern girl" who seeks her "prince" and, after rejecting many, is only disappointed in the one she chooses. To Huelsenbeck, the male and the female principles in Richter's film were opposites working in a way similar to that of completeness and incompleteness. Cultural influences could disturb the fragile balance of this opposition. The film's imagery of sexual opposition and incompatibility closely relates to Huelsenbeck's psychoanalytic vision of the sexes at that time.

Richter's film also presents a modernist class reunion of sorts and was part of Huelsenbeck's project of resuscitating Dada, or rather, of claiming that Dada never died. The development of Huelsenbeck's psychoanalytic theory is closely linked to his project of writing the history of Dada. According to Dada archivist Rudolf Kuenzli, Huelsenbeck's reinterpretation of Dada after World War II furthered abstract expressionism in New York, but also provided the blueprint for other interpretations of Dada.<sup>63</sup> Even during Dada's short lifespan before World War II, Huelsenbeck had written the history of the movement as the editor of two definitive collections of Dada texts from 1920: *En Avant Dada* and *The Dada Almanach*. In these early Dada writings, he already conceived of a relationship between Dada and psychoanalysis. While Dada claimed to fight the interiority and psychologization of the expressionists, as Huelsenbeck described it in his introduction to *Avant Dada*, he conceived it at the same time as "a state of mind independent of all schools and theories, one that addresses individuality itself without doing violence to it."<sup>64</sup> When Walter Mehring wrote that Dada was "the central brain for which the world has been preparing itself," the movement was denoted as an expression not only of its time but also of a collective unconscious that could be experienced by the Dadaists



FIGURE 9. Richard Huelsenbeck with Jacqueline Matisse in *8 × 8: A Chess Sonata in 8 Movements* (Hans Richter, 1957). Courtesy of Ursula Lawder.

and the Dada audience through the representation of primal sound, free association, and the unleashing of drives.<sup>65</sup> The “new man” that Huelsenbeck evoked in his 1917 literary manifesto was to become “reverent toward the violence of our soul” and to adopt a different type of knowledge of the soul: experiential, archaic, and decidedly nonanalytical.<sup>66</sup> Huelsenbeck’s post–World War II promotion and interpretation of Dada, however, lead in a different direction.

In his essays “Psychoanalytical Notes on Modern Art” (1960) and “Self-Alienation and Confirmation in Modern Art” (1961), Huelsenbeck embarked on the project of aligning Dada and psychoanalysis as existential activities, thus reading both as apolitical and largely ahistorical practices: “Modern art is a psychic state of special awareness of man’s situation as a human being.” Art was a way of establishing the self in a world of chance and a way of re-creating the self within itself and, thus, bringing the self more fully into consciousness. Huelsenbeck’s synthetic psychoanalytic writing employs a broad range of terminology such as Jung’s *archetype* and Freud’s *Eros* and *Thanatos*. He was careful, however, to define the self in existential terms, in which ego and personality are ultimately aspects of the self, emphasizing this as his own standpoint: “Accepting the existentialist terminology, I would say that the self which contains as a possibility both being and non-being, works ‘for himself’ as well as ‘against himself.’”<sup>67</sup> Like the self, art could be the expression or documentation of the constructive and the destructive principles of self-realization and self-alienation.

For Huelsenbeck, the creative process was partly historical and partly archetypal. Therefore, the anxiety of the artist stemmed from contact with “reality,” as well as from the fundamental anxiety attached to relinquishing the ego in favor of the self that needed to be constantly realized anew. While Dada was at first political, it then “directed itself against all concepts of permanence,” thus following Nietzsche, anticipating Heidegger, and practicing psychoanalysis in its own way: “The automatic forces of nature are the forces that support the self, as we feel these and their regulatory influence in our bodies and in our daily lives. They work in the unconscious, regardless of our conscious presence and in spite of our blindness or willful interference. The Dadaists, more than any other people of their day, felt that life lives us as we live life. . . . They accepted Freud’s psychoanalysis because it was an attempt to reveal and free the unconscious automatic forces in the self.”<sup>68</sup> Dada and abstract art invited their audiences to participate in the struggle for the self. As such, modern art by Calder or Duchamp struck Huelsenbeck

as neither progressive nor conservative—it was an “ontological effort” that critiqued the “age of depersonalization” and captured the dynamics of personal experience in aesthetic language and movement.<sup>69</sup>

On occasion, Huelsenbeck confessed to some nostalgia for Dada’s anarchic aggressiveness: “It is a nice feeling to have annoyed the world.”<sup>70</sup> And in his later writings, his critique of “depersonalization” became more prominent and related more and more to the social realm, invoking Marcuse’s language. As he prepared to leave New York for good in 1969, Huelsenbeck quipped that Dada could have never taken root in the United States, because Dada had nothing to do with self-improvement.<sup>71</sup> Not only did Huelsenbeck feel that he could not be a good Dadaist in the United States, but also, because of the changes in psychoanalysis, he believed that Dada could not be integrated into any aspect of his professional life as a psychiatrist.

In a lecture manuscript he wrote for a European audience after his return to Switzerland, Huelsenbeck revisited the question of whether he could reconcile the doctor with the Dadaist, and he defined Dada once again, this time emphasizing to a much greater degree its critique of civilization than he had in his earlier, psychoanalytic writings: “I think Dada was the first forceful, maybe violent answer to the endangering of the personality, also called individuality, the protest screams, the *umba umbu* songs, the distorted dances, the manifests that declared that Dada was nothing and meant nothing, were the first documentation of the fact, which we all feel today, that something has occurred through the gradual pollution of human space and the resulting obstruction of individual development that we call a state of alienation in psychiatry.”<sup>72</sup>

Dada was a protest against the “pollution of World War I,” and an “agent of cultural ecology” that could be a model to a world struggling with environmental pollution. Dada’s concern with “nothingness” paralleled psychiatry’s concern with alienation. At their hearts, they were both sciences: at least, remarked Huelsenbeck facetiously, Dada was no less of a science than psychiatry. While the Dadaist had to emphasize irrationality “for propagandistic reasons,” the psychiatrist had to restore a balance of irrationality and rationality in the mind of the patient. Freud’s trauma theory and Jung’s idea of the unconscious only went so far in explaining the psychological imbalances that Huelsenbeck encountered. He became convinced that the social and environmental elements were the most important: massification and the abuse of technology lead to alienation. The liberating laughter of Dada was visionary because play and irony were curative: “Even the psychiatrist

can love pop art, yes, he can make pop the theme of his convictions as the great liberating banality of life. I am a psychiatrist, and I remain a Dadaist, and it is amazing that both work well together.”<sup>73</sup> As in an essay from this same period, “The Irrational and the Nature of Basic Anxiety,” discussed earlier, Huelsenbeck de-emphasized the language of existential psychoanalysis and, at least in part, opened up to the language of psychoanalytic Marxism. While Huelsenbeck grew more pessimistic when it came to his critique of civilization, toward the end of his life he expressed more optimism in regard to the personal split that he had defined for himself for much of it.

#### FROM MODERN SEXES TO SEXUAL PATHOLOGY

While there is some overlap in their psychoanalytic theories, Horney and Huelsenbeck took different trajectories in their development. Horney moved from a Freudian theory of femininity that was biological in origin and had been developed in the 1920s, to personality as a theory of interaction and cultural and environmental impact in the early 1930s, to a theory of intrapsychic conflicts and their solutions in the late 1940s. Throughout his psychoanalytic career, Huelsenbeck took a much wider range of psychoanalytic theorists into his thought than Horney. As I have discussed, in the 1920s he engaged with Adlerian, Freudian, and Horneyan theory, among others; in the 1940s he embraced Jungian psychoanalysis, as well as Horney’s “cultural turn”; in the 1950s he moved toward existential psychoanalysis; and toward the end of his career, he once again emphasized the societal realm.

One constant in the theoretical development of both Horney and Huelsenbeck was their preoccupation with sexuality and what we would today conceive of as gender dynamics. As I have previously elaborated in the context of Keyserling’s *Book of Marriage*, Horney was actively involved the 1920s in the discussion of femininity and marriage. Huelsenbeck was one of the contributors to the 1929 volume *The Woman of Tomorrow*, in which he called for a unanimous affirmation of the modern type of woman, whose short hair and short skirt were, as he put it, symptoms of the time, but whose education and ironic attitude were there to stay.<sup>74</sup> World War I and the advent of industrialization had threatened the patriarchal order. The independent aesthetic and moral type of the modern woman had to be supported in order to facilitate transitional difficulties to a new order. Huelsenbeck’s essay did not pick up on Horney’s psychoanalytic discussions of the sexes and marriage.

And Horney, as far as she addressed social circumstances at that point, disagreed with Huelsenbeck and did not perceive a movement away from patriarchy. She posited a “masculine culture,” using the term that the urban sociologist Georg Simmel had employed to describe it: culture was created by men and was male in spirit. If it addressed a psychoanalytic framework at all, Huelsenbeck’s description of male resistance to change evoked Adler’s early idea of “masculine protest.”

As a psychoanalyst at the American Institute for Psychoanalysis in New York, Huelsenbeck adopted a concept of sexuality that was in the process of moving away from the Freudian primacy of the Oedipus complex and the Freudian emphasis on a fundamental psychological bisexuality. In a 1947 presentation at the New York Academy of Medicine, Huelsenbeck depicted homosexuality as a form of character neurosis.<sup>75</sup> According to the presentation summary, Huelsenbeck argued that homosexuals displayed the neurotic traits of compulsive aggressiveness, submissiveness, detachment, neurotic pride, and self-hatred. Homosexuality was not the result of a special attachment to one parent or the other (here, Huelsenbeck refuted Freudian Oedipal theory) but a reaction to neurotic attitudes toward and around the child. It was a “sexualization” of the neurotic. The “confinement” to homosexual relations was a result of feelings of alienation from one’s own sex, maybe by “too great a stress on male self-assertion” or “the ‘over-maleness’ of our culture.” Homosexual pleasure made the neurotic conflict temporarily bearable, “but it lacks the recognition and respect for the partner’s personality.”

Huelsenbeck’s talk came at a crucial turn in the scientific discourse on homosexuality, which moved from explanations of degeneracy to the diagnosis of a personality disorder. As Jennifer Terry outlined in *An American Obsession*—her Foucauldian tour de force through the American scientific discourse on homosexuality and its European origins—a series of studies in the 1930s and early 1940s by, for example, the Committee for the Study of Sex Variants had reinscribed stereotypes of degeneracy in the empirical scientific framework in which these pre-Kinsey sexuality studies were conducted.<sup>76</sup> The American Freudian pioneer Abraham Brill, while refuting the connection between homosexuality and degeneracy, had aligned homosexuality with paranoia, and the Freudian community was recommending “adjustment therapy” for homosexual patients, which could include medication.<sup>77</sup> Huelsenbeck’s treatment of homosexuality as a sexualized neurosis was in keeping with this trend, and as we will see in one of Huelsenbeck’s case studies at a later point, he treated homosexuality as a reversible neurotic choice.

In an undated manuscript titled “Relations between the Sexes,” which preceded Huelsenbeck’s turn to existential psychoanalysis in the 1950s, he stated that the general patriarchal understanding was slowly being replaced by a matriarchal one manifested in society’s turn to science and socialism.<sup>78</sup> In this context, psychoanalysis—especially Adler’s, Reich’s, and Horney’s versions—more than any other science, stood for “the morality of motherhood and femininity,” for an improvement of human relations, and against autocracy. Huelsenbeck challenged Horney’s division of masochism into a dominant masculine component and a dependent feminine component. In his view, dependency was not an essential characteristic of masochism, and dependency had to be more clearly defined in a sexual and social sense. The main conflict for woman was between the motherly claim to power and the desire for sexual satisfaction. Huelsenbeck defended Freud’s “ingenious” libido theory against what he saw as Fromm’s overemphasis on the environment. Linking to his earlier essay in *The Woman of Tomorrow*, Huelsenbeck problematized the resistance of men against the female challenge. However, over time, Huelsenbeck had moved from the image of the progressive modern woman to what he termed, in an allusion to Johann Jakob Bachofen, a threat of regression to matriarchy: “The fear of man for his superior position, historically threatened by a regression to matriarchal forms, psychologically threatened by his own inability to accept the feminine in any form of authority—this fear is one of the main reasons for ‘inflated masculinity,’ which manifests itself in a reinforcement of all elements, which so far have maintained the power of the masculine.”<sup>79</sup> The dark side of this power was the commodification of woman, whom Huelsenbeck described as a participant in this mechanism. In this situation, marriage had become “a neurotic prison,” and society was tilting toward patriarchy.

Huelsenbeck combined his analysis of the sex wars with an analysis of the questions most pertinent to World War II: an analysis of fascism and anti-Semitism. Fascism was in essence “the battle of the übermen against men, who did not want to be übermen, and who, thank God, are no übermen.” The leading fascists, Hitler and Göring, had masked feminine, homosexual, and masochistic traits. Their hostility toward Jews was a manifestation of their unresolved Oedipal hostility against their fathers, but it was directed against the feminine element in the Jew: “In his delusion, Hitler could not see that, as far as it exists, the ‘feminine’ in the Jewish man is a sign of integration.” While Jews had their origin in a matriarchal life-form, Huelsenbeck argued, the feminine element had been suppressed. It could be detected in the “fables” of

masculine superiority that Jews created as overcompensation for their feminine past, such as the biblical story of the creation of woman out of man. These “fables” even recurred at the very heart of psychoanalysis: Freud’s penis envy was the equivalent of Adam’s rib.

Huelsenbeck’s theory of fascism incorporated the sexually repressed, authoritarian personality in Wilhelm Reich’s 1933 *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, as well as a variety of psychological portrayals of Hitler, ranging from Konrad Heiden’s highly influential analysis in 1936, which suggested that Hitler persecuted what seemed Jewish in himself, to Rudolf Olden’s 1935 description of Hitler’s repression of sexual drives, to Heinrich Mann’s hysteric Hitler of 1933.<sup>80</sup> But Huelsenbeck’s idea of the phylogenetic memory of repressed femininity that surfaced in Jewish psychoanalysis evokes Groddeck’s image of the Jewish *Weibmann*. In Huelsenbeck’s text, Horney’s theory of femininity and her critique of penis envy also point to the fear that Jewish sexual politics may ultimately undermine psychoanalytic theory.

In 1959, after his existential turn, Huelsenbeck published his only psychoanalytic book, surprisingly in Germany and under the name Richard Huelsenbeck. *Sexuality and Personality* presented a general introduction to psychiatry and psychoanalysis and implicitly provided an intellectual history of his own psychoanalytic practice to that point. Extending from Mesmer’s experiments to Sartre’s writings on Freud, Huelsenbeck’s discussion covers a wide range of key psychoanalytic as well as pre-psychoanalytic figures, concepts, and practices, including whole chapters on Freud, Jung, Adler, and the “culturalists” Fromm, Horney, and Sullivan. While Huelsenbeck tried to do justice to each psychoanalytic school, he also clarified his own standpoint, that of existential psychoanalysis. In general, Huelsenbeck shared what he described as critical frustration with Freud’s determinism and disregard for the idea of freedom. But he remarked that Horney did not pay enough attention to the existential fear that underlay neurotic fear. Huelsenbeck also made perfectly clear that he saw the Freudian tradition as outdated in its historicizations. He traced his own school, existential psychoanalysis in the phenomenological tradition, from Franz Brentano and Edmund Husserl to Otto Binswanger, and gave a vivid picture of its practice: “The patient is, what he is, as he speaks and as he presents himself. His neurotic symptoms are symptoms of the present and have to be understood as such.”<sup>81</sup> The psychoanalyst had become an advisor: “The schooled phenomenologist lives with the patient in a new subject-object relationship, in which there is no ‘top’ or ‘bottom’



any more, as in an atmosphere with changed gravitational relations. The patient remains patient, and the doctor remains doctor, but next to the psychiatric relationship, the recognition of the ‘own’ [*Eigene*] and the ‘foreign’ [*Fremde*] are of great importance.”<sup>82</sup> For the existential psychoanalyst, the “foreign” becomes the “other,” which has to be encountered without prejudice and with humanity, but not to be mistaken for sentimental humanism, said Huelsenbeck, who closed his book with a case study from his own practice.

Huelsenbeck’s patient, as he described her, was a twenty-five-year-old Jewish woman from suburban New York. He first calls her P., but then suddenly reveals her first name, Ruth, only to let it disappear again until the end, when in the promise of healing she can own her name. Her parents were poor Polish immigrants who became middle class. On occasion, her father showed her picture books in Yiddish. Huelsenbeck suggests a possible hereditary reason for Ruth’s problems when he describes her mother’s “melancholic bouts.”

Ruth had an international career as a figure skater, but could not perform anymore after a nervous breakdown. Estranged from her family after her father’s death, she lived “among Christian girls” in a Protestant hostel. She worked as a stenographer, ate too much or too little, and hoped for the affection of her homosexual and exploitative friend Jack. Huelsenbeck painted this sad portrait, partly with presumable quotes from his patient and partly in his own voice.

His analysis presents a mixture of Freudian and existentialist elements: he reads Ruth’s story as a story of overdependence on her parents (she is stuck in the “pregenital phase”), but he interprets her skating as an existentially symbolic activity and encourages her to work with the present and to take “responsibility” for her life. For Huelsenbeck, transference is not a constant part of the analytic process but occurs when Ruth is in a bad mood and thinks he is “like her father.” Huelsenbeck himself, however, is not beyond taking an unreflective, paternal, and even patronizing tone: “Ruth accepts that she has been a coward all her life.” At the book’s end, the case is still not closed: “The analysis continues, we are in our fifth year, and indeed the first real rays of sunlight have appeared.”

Although Huelsenbeck’s account inadvertently provides an occasional glimpse into Ruth’s independent streak, when, for example, she refuses to lie down on the couch, Huelsenbeck presents and reads her as a victim. After a “long, difficult session,” Ruth agrees to Huelsenbeck’s suggestion and tries to seduce Jack: “It comes to a decisive scene, in

which Jack promises to kiss and hug the patient, under the condition of a subsidy to his living expenses. The patient tells me everything in a triumphant voice. ‘Isn’t he wonderful, I always knew, that he is a pimp . . .’” Huelsenbeck enforces the impression that Ruth prostitutes herself in this scenario, that she is the only one being exploited. Technically, however, Jack would be the one being paid for physical affection. Ruth would be the one paying for affection, and the exploitation would be mutual, not to mention Huelsenbeck’s own role and therapeutic justification in setting up the situation by talking Ruth into seducing a man who had clearly rejected her sexually.

In a crucial childhood scene at a family picnic on the shore, told in Ruth’s voice, she watches a “Negro family” nearby. When an errant ball thrown by a member of the other family breaks her family’s dishes, her father runs after the young culprit and proceeds to beat him with a stick until other families come running and the police intervene. It is after this story that Huelsenbeck first reveals Ruth’s name. Ruth later tells of a related dream: “She sees herself among the Negroes, even though she keeps her white skin, but she is treated by the Negroes like one of them. She is young and either a daughter or a relative. Everything happens in the dream as in reality, laying the table, playing ball, but when the father gets up, the patient runs away, and the man runs behind her. He finally catches her, pulls her hair and wants to strip her, in order to beat her, but she wakes up at the last moment.”<sup>83</sup> Huelsenbeck proceeds to read the dream as an expression of her wish to be punished and of her fear of sexual aggression. Ruth’s racial identification, that of an American Jewish woman of eastern European origin who imagines herself as a white relative of a black family, remains unaddressed. While Huelsenbeck reads the black and the homosexual as sexual aggressors, he can read the Jewish woman only as a victim.

If psychoanalytic themes and mechanisms surface in Huelsenbeck’s artistic production, as I have argued in regard to his novel *Doctor Bilig at the End* and his performance in the film *8 × 8*, then it is also the case that Huelsenbeck’s Dadaist agenda, in particular its unconscious, informed his psychoanalytic practice. Huelsenbeck’s vision of an unrealized, incomplete Jewish sexuality (as exemplified in the cultural repression of femininity that reemerges in compensatory tales—even from within psychoanalytic theory—or in Ruth’s inability to assume what Huelsenbeck defined as the female role in a mature heterosexual relationship) is as much a part of psychoanalytic theoretical narratives as a continuation of the narrative of modernism. In the context of a

racially segregated environment in the United States, Dada's enactments and fantasies of an instinctual, liberated "Negro" primitivism lost their identificatory rebellious component and thus were stripped down to stereotypes of pure sexual aggression and violence.

As I have argued previously, the psychoanalytic movement and cultural modernism are inseparable in the history they traversed and in the histories they produced. While Huelsenbeck describes his irreconcilable split between Dadaist and doctor as a dilemma that predated exile, this divide shifted during his exile from an inability to reconcile a bourgeois profession with an antibourgeois artistic protest to an inability to express and practice a modernist understanding of the relation between self and world in two different ways at the same time.

Huelsenbeck practiced psychoanalysis and—beyond an extent that he deemed possible—Dada in New York until the age of seventy-five. At that point, he retired to Locarno-Minusio in Switzerland, where he died in 1974. When he was contacted in 1959 about a plaque for his birth house in Frankenau, Huelsenbeck was ecstatic. He had, however, one request, namely, that he would be described not only as a Dadaist but also as a "writer, artist and doctor."<sup>84</sup>

While Huelsenbeck's obituary in the psychoanalytic flagship journal *American Imago* briefly praised him as "*rara avis*, a man, who lived in two worlds and achieved distinction in both," it then proceeded to attack at length Huelsenbeck's work on creativity, calling it outdated and claiming that his view of the connection between art and society contributed nothing to the "psychology of style," which at that point was what psychoanalysis should be concerned with. "It is by no means clear," the obituary writer noted, "why 'art' should serve any better the universal need for 'self-realization' than gardening, needlework or shoe-making—except for the special valuation that our culture accords to the 'creative' enterprise."<sup>85</sup> To the reviewer, a psychoanalyst at the New York Psychoanalytic Institute in 1974, emphatically an MD and not a PhD ("you know, like Erich Fromm"), this "special valuation" had become questionable.<sup>86</sup>

# Conclusion

Let's return to the question posed at this book's beginning: What is the Berlin Psychoanalytic? Each chapter of this account has approached this question from a different angle, analyzing and connecting with jumps and detours different historic and aesthetic moments. My goal has been to open up more research into and discussion of what I found to be the vast, understudied, and worthwhile field of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, rather than to provide a comprehensive narrative of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute's history and its intellectual influence.

This book characterizes the Berlin Psychoanalytic as a diverse network of people and discourses and a cultural practice, which in part continued and changed in exile. The following key elements that distinguish this network from other such psychoanalytic networks are linked to the specific psychoanalytic practice and theory that emerged in the BPI after, and partly as a result of, World War I: the preoccupation with war neurosis that for some analysts and artists also translated into an investment in social change through psychoanalysis; the institutional or intellectual openness to other social movements and theoretical approaches of the time, such as socialism, feminism, and sexual science; the agenda to popularize psychoanalysis, and the confidence that media such as the daily press and film would not dilute what this "new science" was about; the understanding of psychoanalysis as a highly topical practice of intervention connected to more than just high bourgeois culture; the desire to implement psychoanalysis in other social and

cultural practices and theories and, conversely, the openness to engage with psychoanalysis in forms deemed nonscientific—that is, novels.

While these characteristics are mostly associated with “progressive” politics of the time, in some instances they revealed themselves to be associated with eugenic and racial thought; more or less veiled forms of anti-Semitism; and the mission to connect psychoanalysis with a conservative brand of philosophy of life, life reform, and Christian mythology. Originally, I did not envision writing about this part of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, but the pervasiveness of these connections in my source material needed to be addressed. While the institutional collaboration of psychoanalysis with fascism has been successfully integrated into the histories of psychoanalysis, I believe there is still a lot to be said about the influence of race theories, social Darwinism, and eugenics on the development of psychoanalytic theory in the German context. As mentioned in the introduction, the categories of “progressive” and “regressive” do not neatly align with contemporary notions when it comes to the Weimar Republic.

These characteristics of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, which adhere to the specific historical moment of World War I and Weimar Republic Berlin, express themselves in specific aesthetic strategies, most importantly the following: the depiction of the urban experience and social conditions as an integral part of collective and individual psychology; the subversive play with vernacular and scientific language; the creation of soundscapes within a text to create a subconscious layer; the exploration of vulgarity or violence as a means to capture or to comment on the mechanisms of the unconscious; the use of the “eye camera” as a form of physiological cinema of the unconscious, and, with it, the performance of psychoanalysis as autobiography through the body; and finally the inclusion of the conviction, and at times even Messianic zeal, that psychoanalysis is a revolutionary or avant-garde practice.

As I have shown in the preceding chapters, some characteristics and strategies of the Berlin Psychoanalytic continued in exile, some prompted new developments, and some became anachronistic or inopportune. In some cases, tensions between continuation and disruption, and between “progressive” and “regressive,” could play out in complex ways. Arnold Zweig, for example, declared that revolutionary psychoanalysis no longer had a place in Palestine after Eitingon’s death, since to him it was linked to the German language and a specific emigrant scene. Ultimately, he could not participate in the discussions on Zionism and psychoanalysis that led to an understanding of psychoanalysis

as an important nation-building tool in, for example, the service of youth organizations and civil defense. Where Zweig saw a complete disruption of the Berlin Psychoanalytic, one could also argue for strands of continuation as the PPA turned into the Israeli Psychoanalytic Society.

I have described the Berlin Psychoanalytic as a form of psychoanalytic modernism, and as such it also shares historical characteristics and aesthetic strategies with the psychoanalytic modernisms in Vienna, Paris, and London. In the groundbreaking volume *The Mind of Modernism*, the historian of medicine Mark Micale has defined the varied cultural affinities between aesthetic and scientific-psychological modernism. They include the “turn inward,” the “psychologization of . . . methods, subjects and intentions,” the focus on the unconscious and the “irrational,” the focus on sexuality and psychopathology, and the focus on the “primitive” mind. Micale cites Paris and Vienna as the cultural “epicenters,” where “creative, anti-realist responses” to the perceived failure of a positivist type of knowledge and representation emerged. I argue that Berlin plays an equally influential role in what Micale has aptly framed as a “mutually originative and reciprocally enriching” nexus of science and the arts.<sup>1</sup>

However, I claim that the Berlin Psychoanalytic is also distinctly different from these other Modernist networks and cultures. In large part this difference stems from the historically specific way in which psychoanalysis in Berlin was forced to react to the material and psychological damages of World War I, the end of monarchy, and the social and revolutionary movements of the 1920s. In fin de siècle Vienna, the phenomenon, which has been described by Michael Worbs as *Nervenkunst* (the aesthetics of nerves), arguably peaked well before World War I, with writers such as Arthur Schnitzler, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and Hermann Bahr productively engaging psychoanalysis (or in Karl Kraus’s case, productively critiquing this “mental illness it purports to cure”). The Viennese preoccupation with masculine subjectivity and female hysteria prefigures some of the Berlin discussions and depictions of war neurosis and gender, but they gain a different political urgency in the context of the political upheaval and social misery of postwar Berlin. As the intellectual historian John Toews has argued for the case of Vienna, self-analysis became an attempt to resolve the inner collapse of liberalism.<sup>2</sup> In Berlin, psychoanalysis was turned outward and treated as a trusted tool to analyze and change society. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Berlin Psychoanalytic also presents a radical aesthetic departure from fin de siècle Vienna’s subtle skepticism about language. Where

Hofmannsthal ornately describes words falling apart in his mouth “like molding mushrooms,” Döblin and Huelsenbeck confront their readers with violent or primal sounds.

In regard to its radical break with more traditional narrative forms, the Berlin Psychoanalytic shares a lot with surrealist Paris. The surrealist genre of the “psychobiography,” for example, relates to Döblin’s psychoanalytic case study or even Pabst’s film *Secrets of a Soul* (the latter’s dream sequence resembles early surrealist techniques and relationship to imagery, which the historian of psychoanalysis Elisabeth Roudinesco has described as secular rather than occult or magic). In surrealism, we also find fantasies about race and criminal women. But in the Berlin Psychoanalytic, representations of women like Huelsenbeck’s Margot in *Dr. Billig* do not glorify the violent woman as the new modern heroine. The Berlin depictions of socially conditioned mental breakdowns are also far removed from the surrealist framing of hysteria as a poetic language, which provided the discursive basis for the powerful French antipsychiatry movement. While the surrealists saw the fight for lay analysis as an opportunity to divorce medicine from psychoanalysis, the physician-writers of the Berlin Psychoanalytic were more interested in marrying the two.

On the level of personal relationships, the London Bloomsbury circle is closely connected to the Berlin Psychoanalytic and, in its specific form of psychoanalytic modernism, most akin to it. Bloomsbury figures like Joan Riviere and James Strachey encountered psychoanalysis before World War I through the Society for Psychical Research. After Ernest Jones founded the British Psychoanalytic Society in 1920, James Strachey went to Vienna for analysis with Freud and, in 1924, Alix Strachey trained in Berlin with Karl Abraham. The Stracheys’ Freud translations were disseminated by the Hogarth Press, run by Leonard and Virginia Woolf. In 1920, Ernest Jones wrote to Otto Rank with an enthusiasm reminiscent of the Berliners’ missionary zeal that psychoanalysis was mentioned “in nearly every modern novel in England.” Melanie Klein, whose forays into the Berlin culture and nightlife are captured in Alix Strachey’s letters, moved from Berlin to London in 1926. Klein’s theory came to fundamentally influence and dominate British psychoanalysis until Anna Freud’s arrival in 1938.<sup>3</sup>

Not unlike in the German context, the nature of the relationship between modernist fiction and psychoanalysis has been controversial, especially in the case of Virginia Woolf. Despite her gestures of theoretical distancing and hesitation to undergo psychoanalytic treatment,

which historian Edith Kurzweil acknowledges in her account, recent literary scholarship has illuminated the ways in which Woolf's break with traditional narration and thematic choices of war neurosis, "middle-class paranoia," and female subjectivity are a critical commentary on Kleinian and Freudian psychoanalysis.<sup>4</sup>

These brief sketches of the relationship between the Berlin Psychoanalytic and its siblings are limited to Vienna, Paris, and London. The question remains in which way non-European modernist settings produced their own "Psychoanalytics," initially dependent on psychoanalysis as it was theorized and practiced in Europe, but simultaneously and finally as an institutional and cultural practice that became specific to its location and local sets of concerns. In other words, when and how exactly does the Berlin Psychoanalytic become the New York Psychoanalytic?

Part of my goal has been to establish the Berlin Psychoanalytic as another point of reference in discussions on psychoanalysis and modernism. The Berlin Psychoanalytic was a moment in which the yet unshaken belief in the revolutionary potential of psychoanalysis coincided with the excitement of seemingly unlimited possibility of creative experimentation. This constellation was of course easy prey for such a keen satirist as Kurt Tucholsky. In 1925, he published his poem "Psychoanalysis," which makes fun of the zeal of the younger generation of Freud followers. Its sudden disruptions of the rhyme scheme and its isolation of the final exclamation satirize their attempts to endow any mundane object, such as a "table rim," with symbolic meaning. At the same time, the pleasure of the poem's three crazy Freudians shines unmistakably through as they stand in the garden debating their complexes and waiting for an answer from Vienna, which, just like Godot, is not likely to come anytime soon:

Fore-pleasures, after-pleasures and dithers nightly  
 —it's so much fun to chat about them lightly.  
 The debate among experts—what a treat!—  
 It's almost as beautiful as a  
     Yes.<sup>5</sup>





# Notes

## ABBREVIATIONS

AdK	Akademie der Künste, Berlin
BK	Bundearchiv, Koblenz
DLA	Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach
GSA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin
KA	Keyserling-Archiv, Darmstadt

## INTRODUCTION

1. Haxthausen, xiii.
2. Gay, *Weimar Culture*, xiv.
3. Pachter, 306.
4. Hermand and Trommler, 12.
5. Grossmann, "Magnus Hirschfeld," 204.
6. See Harald Schultz-Hencke, "Die Tüchtigkeit als psychotherapeutisches Ziel," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* 7 (1934): 62–97, and Carl Müller-Braunschweig, "Psychoanalyse und Weltanschauung," *Der Reichswart* (October 22, 1933): 22. See also Rickels's discussion of what he aptly describes as Müller-Braunschweig's "Volk-sy Oedipedagogy." Rickels, 2:188.
7. Winkler, 616. Translations from the German are mine unless otherwise noted.

8. Kaes, Jay, and Dimendberg, xvii.

9. Tatar, 151.

10. This congress also produced an exhibit. Its catalogue (see Brecht et al., eds.) discusses the transition between the Göring Institute and immediate postwar psychoanalysis in East and West Berlin. It was translated into several languages and proved to be an invaluable resource to scholars interested in the history of psychoanalysis in Germany. Further detailed accounts of postwar German psychoanalysis are to be found in Cocks and in Regine Locket and Heike Bernhardt, eds., *Mit ohne Freud* (Giessen: Psycho-Sozial Verlag, 2000). The title of this latter collection of essays captures the tension between continuities and discontinuities between psychoanalytic theory and practice during fascism and after World War II.

11. Abraham to Freud, August 21, 1908.

12. On the importance of the Lankwitz Hospital and the early collaboration between neurologists, psychiatrists, and psychotherapists in the setting of this private clinic, founded and largely run by Jewish physicians since 1890, see Thomas Müller, "Die Neurologische Abteilung des Krankenhauses Lankwitz: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Emigration, der Psychotherapie und des Berliner Krankenhauses" *Sudhoffs Archiv* 88, no. 1 (2004): 54–76.

13. World War I changed the relationship between psychiatry and psychoanalysis in Germany. While it strengthened the recognition of psychoanalysis, it also led to a more direct and intense competition for the final authority on theories of war neurosis and for newly available welfare resources. Greg Eghigian has demonstrated that the German social welfare system was fundamentally reorganized after World War I. New groups for war veterans and widows emerged and expressed their need in the newly developed language of innocent victimhood. As I will argue later on, public health insurance physicians like Alfred Döblin held an important mediator function in channeling state welfare and insurance money to psychoanalysis rather than psychiatry. See Decker, Lerner, Eghigian, and Whalen.

14. Makari, 236. The chapter on Berlin is titled "A New Psychoanalysis."

15. Abraham to Freud, October 19, 1919.

16. For a biographical essay on Oscar A. H. Schmitz, see the third volume of his diaries edited by Groddeck biographer Wolfgang Martynkewicz: Oscar A. H. Schmitz, *Durch das Land der Dämonen. Tagebücher* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2007).

17. Friedrich, 73.

18. Brecht, 38. The historian Anson Rabinbach relates that Reich's 1930 speech "The Sexual Misery of the Working Masses" presents the "median point" between his Viennese and Berlin periods, a rejection of social democratic theories and a turn toward a more politicized, revolutionary sexual reform movement, which he subsequently implemented in Berlin. Anson Rabinbach, "The Politicization of Wilhelm Reich," *New German Critique* 1 (1973): 90–97.

19. Many of these analysts' biographies are readily available in Mühlleitner's outstanding *Biographisches Lexikon der Psychoanalyse*. Another important source for the history of the Berlin Institute is the journal *Luzifer-Amor*, which frequently features articles in the field and dedicated issue number 13 (1994) exclusively to the topic.

The Sexpol movement was based on Reich's theory that sexual drives were managed and controlled in a capitalist society and translated into a commitment to psychoanalytic-politic practice. Reich and his collaborators offered sexual and reproductive counseling through political organizations throughout the city. I briefly discuss Reich's exclusion from the psychoanalytic movement in chapter 3.

Lou Andreas-Salomé's psychoanalytic writings and her large correspondence with Anna Freud are now accessible. Klemann has more recently described Andreas-Salomé's lively psychoanalytic practice as well as the prejudice it was met with by other analysts because of her fame as a writer and as a friend of Rilke and Nietzsche. See Manfred Klemann, "Die psychoanalytische Praxis der Lou Andreas-Salomé," *Luzifer-Amor* 35 (2005): 109–129. See also Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Das zweideutige Lächeln der Erotik*, ed. Inge Weber and Brigitte Remp (Freiburg: Kore Verlag, 1998), and Daria A. Rothe and Inge Weber, *Lou Andreas-Salomé—Anna Freud Briefwechsel* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2001). See also Biddy Martin's positioning of Andreas-Salomé's work in contemporary feminist debates: Biddy Martin, *Woman and Modernity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991). In regard to the Stracheys in Berlin, see Meisel and Kendrick; see also Rotraut De Clerk, "'Der Traum von einer bess'ren Welt': Psychoanalyse und Kultur in der Mitte der zwanziger Jahre: Berlin und London," *Luzifer-Amor* 13 (1994): 41–70.

20. The psychiatrist J. Tas worked together with Landauer in Bergen-Belsen, and he describes how they attempted to address the process of "desocialization" with therapeutic interventions under the most harrowing conditions. For a while they established an informal mentoring system for older boys. They primarily treated aggressive behavior, phobias, and anxiety in children and adolescents, at times protecting them from severe punishment. See J. Tas, "Psychical Disorders among Inmates of Concentration Camps and Repatriates," *Psychiatric Quarterly* 25 (1951): 679–690.

21. For a wide-ranging discussion of these approaches, see Müller, *Psychotherapie und Körperarbeit*.

22. See Walter Eliasberg, "Allgemeine ärztliche Gesellschaft für Psychotherapie, 1926–31," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 112 (1956): 738–740.

23. In the secondary literature, Edith Jacobson's name is often also spelled "Jacobsohn," which is the original German version of her name, before it was anglicized in exile in the United States.

24. Ries, 46.

25. Yvan Goll, *Sodom Berlin* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer TB, 1988), 33.

26. Erich Mühsam, "Psychologen," in *War Einmal ein Revoluzzer* (Berlin: Henschelverlag 1978), 68–69.

27. See K. Podoll, "Geschichte des Lehrfilms und des populärwissenschaftlichen Aufklärungsfilms in der Nervenheilkunde in Deutschland 1895–1929," *Fortschritte der Neurologie-Psychiatrie* 68 (2000): 523–529. See also Kristina Jaspers and Wolf Unterberger, eds., *Kino im Kopf: Psychoanalyse und Film seit Sigmund Freud* (Berlin: Bertz + Fischer, 2006).

28. In regard to Kemper's role at the Göring Institute, see Hans Füchtner, "Psychoanalytiker, Mitläufer, Nazi, Gestapomann, militanter Marxist? Der Fall Werner Kemper," *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse* 46 (2003): 137–191.

29. Brecht, 172.

30. For a more extensive discussion of psychoanalysis in Germany post-1945, and also Alexander Mitscherlich's role, see Brecht; Volker Roelke, "Psychotherapy between Medicine, Psychoanalysis, and Politics: Concepts, Practices, and Institutions in Germany, c. 1945–1992," *Medical History* 48, no. 4 (2004): 473–492; and Martin Dehli, *Leben als Konflikt. Zur Biographie Alexander Mitscherlichs* (Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2007).

31. As Richard Evans elaborates, the language of selectionist social Darwinism not only influenced discourses of welfare and criminology before World War I but also became a discursive framework for addressing social causes of the midtwenties that we would consider progressive today. See Evans, 78.

32. Huelsenbeck himself uses the term *existential* in much the same way that *existentialist* was used, and the following text adheres to his usage.

## I. BERLIN SOULSCAPES

1. Abraham to Freud, August 3 and October 19, 1919.

2. Unfortunately the graphological analysis and the illustrations have been omitted in later editions of this work.

3. Döblin's dissertation advisor was the psychiatrist Alfred Erich Hoche (1865–1943), a well-known foe of Freud, who came from the discipline of neuropathology and subsequently developed the theory of symptom complexes, which were conceived of as a secondary, more accurate diagnostic unit than large disease classifications or small symptom elements. In 1905 this theory was still new, and Döblin followed a general trend in psychiatry by explaining psychological phenomena in psychophysical terms and focusing on the course of the disease rather than its etiology. Döblin neither quoted Hoche's work in his dissertation, nor alluded to the social ramifications of alcohol abuse and the dubious social discourse that Hoche was to subscribe to in later publications. In 1920, Hoche called for euthanasia of the mentally disabled, the annihilation of "life unworthy of living." In his later writings Döblin reacted to Hoche's politics, in 1939, by directly countering his polemics against psychoanalysis and attacking his disciple Oswald Bumke, and, in 1946, by publishing a fictionalized account of National Socialist euthanasia in the psychiatric hospital Berlin-Buch, his former workplace, titled "The Surprise Excursion" (*Die Fahrt ins Blaue*). See Fuechtner, "Arzt und Dichter." For a complete and differentiated account of Hoche's life and work, see Müller-Seidel.

4. Döblin wrote, "Psychotherapy has to step into its own right." Döblin, "Die Nerven," 156.

5. Meyer, 20.

6. Brecht, 16.

7. Minder, 162. See Ludger Hermanns's biographical essay on Ernst Simmel in the German edition of his writings. A *training analysis* in 1919 could mean any number of things, but most probably entailed engaging in a sequence of conversations on psychoanalysis and attending the BPI's courses for doctors in conjunction with a series of psychoanalytic sessions. That Döblin was involved with psychoanalysis on a personal level at the onset of the 1920s is supported

by a notebook entry he made in 1921. In this entry, he describes one of his own dreams from the night of April 19. He dreamt that he had to redo the final school exam in order to choose a proper profession. After his exam he is standing in his black suit in the school courtyard and realizes that he already did this exam. He spends the rest of the dream trying to convince his teachers that he already is a medical doctor. While this dream reflects insecurities about his own social status and professional recognition, as well as the importance Döblin places on his medical profession, it also hints at a different mode of self-analysis that Döblin could have adopted in consequence of his involvement with psychoanalysis. Döblin reworks this dream scenario in his autobiographical book *Alfred Döblin. Im Buch-Zu Haus-Auf der Straße* (1928). Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA.

8. On the occasion of the 1922 Berlin congress of the International Psychoanalytic Association, he drew a parallel between the absolute power of Louis XIV and Freud's demeanor around his disciples: "He might as well say—'psychoanalysis—c'est moi.'" Döblin, "Psychoanalyse von heute." In the context of discussing his earlier psychiatric work on hysteria, Döblin also pronounced that psychoanalysis did not bring him anything "miraculous," a quote that—without knowledge of the context—often has been interpreted as an all-around rejection of psychoanalysis rather than as a critique of its claim to original discovery. Döblin, *Arzt und Dichter*. These short pieces have been reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*. For the most part I am quoting from the original newspaper articles, which have no page numbers.

9. Meng, *Leben*, 65.

10. Brecht, 30.

11. On the Berlin polyclinic in comparison to the Viennese model, see the work of Elizabeth Danto.

12. In 1920 alone, Karl Abraham gave a six-week introductory lecture course on psychoanalysis, Ernst Simmel gave three lectures on war neuroses, and Karen Horney held four talks on the practical use of psychoanalysis exclusively for physicians. Psychoanalytisches Institut, 10.

13. "I can't say anything about my psychological development; since I am doing psychoanalysis, I know how wrong any kind of self-declaration is." Döblin, "Autobiographische Skizze," 20.

14. Döblin, "Psychoanalyse von heute."

15. Döblin signed the guestbook at the opening celebration on April 10, 1927. Many thanks to Ludger M. Hermanns of Berlin, who made this entry available to me from his private archive.

16. *Der Sozialistische Arzt* 8, no. 11 (November 1931). Döblin officially joined in 1926. He became a substitute representative for the VSÄ as part of a joint list of leftist doctor organizations, the *Freigewerkschaftliche Liste*.

17. In 1926, Simmel was head of the VSÄ as well as of the German Psychoanalytic Society. In regard to the VSÄ, see Leibfried, 101. See also the account of the activities of the VSÄ—e.g., in regard to the legalization of abortion—by Hilde Benjamin, widow of the socialist doctor Georg Benjamin (Walter Benjamin's brother), who was murdered in Mauthausen in 1942. Hilde Benjamin became secretary of justice in the German Democratic Republic and

an infamously draconic judge in trials against the GDR opposition, and her account reflects later GDR politics. Benjamin, 138–152.

18. Döblin, “Gegen die Kulturreaktion!”

19. Döblin, “Psychoanalyse von heute.” This and other newspaper articles by Döblin mentioned in the following have been edited partly by Anthony W. Riley in the four volumes of Döblin’s *Kleine Schriften*.

20. Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA. See also Alfred Döblin, “Kassenärzte und Kassenpatienten,” 313. In a contemporary account Döblin comes across as a sympathetic and caring doctor. The publisher Helmut Kindler recalls visiting Döblin’s office under the pretense of a sprained leg. Döblin prescribed an ointment and asked how many days Kindler would like to take off. He added, smiling, that he himself used to hate school. Kindler, *Zum Abschied*, 79.

21. Alfred Döblin, “Eine kassenärztliche Sprechstunde,” 125. For reasons of privacy, I have abbreviated the patient’s names in the following accounts.

22. The note from the referring doctor is dated January 21, 1926, and was written by Dr. Keuler. Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA.

23. Since Döblin indicated recurring physical treatments such as injections for epileptic patients, this arrangement strongly suggests psychotherapeutic treatment.

24. Alfred Döblin, “Ich unterhalte mich mit meinen Eltern und Lehrern (5. Fortsetzung),” *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 21 July 1928.

25. Ironically, Erna Döblin is dressed up in a fur coat, which was certainly not representative of Döblin’s clientele. Döblin’s oldest son, Bodo Kunke, remembers that the desk was standing in the middle of the office. The desk and the huge amount of books seemed to dominate the room. There was no couch. Bodo Kunke, interview by the author, August 21, 1999.

26. Döblin, “Sigmund Freud.”

27. Alfred Döblin, Notebook (*Notizbuch*) (twenty-five pages, date on the cover: end of 1921), DLA.

28. Döblin diagnosed forms of hysteria, neurosis, neuropathy, neurasthenia, psychosis, depressive obsessional thought, and psychopathy. For a list of common contemporary diagnoses, see Psychonalytisches Institut, 16–17.

29. Kemper, 269.

30. Döblin, “Praxis der Psychoanalyse”; Alfred Döblin, “Die Seele vor dem Arzt und Philosophen.”

31. “It is strange how the paths of these two men crossed. Breuer appeared in Freud’s life just for one single moment of fertilization.” Alfred Döblin, “Joseph Breuer” (1925), Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA.

32. Döblin, “Metapsychologie und Biologie,” 1222–1232.

33. These notes are discussed in more detail in my dissertation, “Alfred Döblin and the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute.”

34. Döblin, “Sigmund Freud. Zum 70. Geburtstage.”

35. The publisher Helmut Kindler describes in his memoirs an evening together with the authors Lampl, Brecht, and Döblin; the critic Ihering; and Traute Hodann, whose husband, Max Hodann, was a sexologist and collaborator of Magnus Hirschfeld. The young Kindler was smitten with Traute Hodann and stayed in the kitchen to help her make sandwiches, where she

told him jokingly to ask Brecht about Freud, prompting Brecht to make snide remarks and Döblin to utter lengthy praises. Kindler, *Zum Abschied*, 81–82.

36. Plänklers, 254–331. Also see Schievelbusch, 77–93. The meeting minutes reveal that he was also perceived as a psychoanalyst by the other committee members. He was occasionally addressed as a psychoanalyst in other contexts. In 1922 the critic Ferdinand Lion, who knew Döblin personally, stated in an article for the widely read *Neue Rundschau* that psychoanalysis and Taoism were the strongest influences for Alfred Döblin. Lion, however, remarked with regret that the erotic complex was not as dominant in Döblin when compared to Freud. Lion, 1008. The standard literary history by Alfred Soergel in the edition of 1925 comments on Döblin's notion of the subject: "The biologist and psychoanalyst knows that there is no *Ich* in the common sense." Soergel, 875.

37. Döblin's address book shows an entry with Simmel's Hollywood address: "Simmel 555 Wilcox Ave Hollywood." Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA. Like Döblin, Simmel was persecuted by the Nazis as both a Jew and a socialist. Simmel left Berlin in 1933, and helped to build the Psychoanalytic Institutes of Los Angeles and San Francisco. He died in Hollywood in 1947. Döblin spent the years 1940–1945 in Hollywood, where he was unhappy, led a financially dire existence, and experienced a life-changing conversion to Catholicism—much to the dismay of his friend and admirer Bertolt Brecht.

38. Psychoanalytisches Institut, 8.

39. Döblin, "Praxis der Psychoanalyse."

40. Ibid. Döblin compared the polyclinic's psychoanalytic treatments with the traditional neurological approach, which he dismissed as only pushing "the symptoms aside with baths, electricity, tonics and suggestion." He came to the conclusion that psychoanalytic treatment was ultimately more successful in treating compulsive neurosis and traumatic neurosis.

41. For a more detailed account of Simmel's psychocathartic treatments in Posen, see Lerner, 171–174.

42. In his introduction to the volume, Freud called this specific state the "warrior ego," which becomes a "double" and threatens to kill the "peace ego" in the neurotic conflict. In contrast to Simmel, Abraham emphasized the sexual etiology of the neurotic conflict also for the cases of war neurosis. Abraham, "Erstes Korreferat," in *Zur Psychoanalyse der Kriegsneurosen*, 5.

43. Simmel, "Zweites Korreferat," in *Zur Psychoanalyse der Kriegsneurosen*, 23.

44. Ibid., 37.

45. Ibid., 41.

46. Alfred Döblin, "Das kranke Volk."

47. Ibid.; Simmel, *Psychoanalyse*, 37.

48. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 115.

49. Anz, "Alfred Döblin," 26.

50. Meinik, 478. The reviewer for *Die Weltbühne* hailed Döblin's interpretative efforts as a description not simply of the events but of the underlying causes. All reviews ignore the explicit and implied criticism of science in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*. See Siemsen, 360–361.



51. With authors like Alfred Döblin, Egon Erwin Kisch, and Kurt Kersten, the series was bound to emphasize the social context and psychological dimension of the cases. Although at least thirty-seven titles were planned, by authors such as Thomas Mann, Joseph Roth, and Max Brod, only fourteen were printed. After their collaboration on *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, Döblin continued working closely with Leonhard in fighting political censorship in the writers organization Gruppe 1925. See Hermanns and Schmitz. For more literary context related to the Außenseiter der Gesellschaft series, and a reading of Döblin's text in the context of shifting notions of criminality, see Todd Herzog, "Crime Stories: Criminal, Society, and the Modernist Case History," *Representations* 80 (2002): 34–61. For an in-depth analysis of the different expert statements, the moments of "narrative reflection," and the questioning of agency in Döblin's text, see Hania Siebenpeiffer, *Böse Lust. Gewaltverbrechen in Diskursen der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 102–134.

52. *Vossische Zeitung*, March 17, 1923.

53. Like Döblin, the writer Joseph Roth recognized how, despite the strangeness of the women and their trial, their case gained a special social and psychological significance. Indeed, their lives and marriages were typical for the petit-bourgeois milieu. Roth saw Elli Klein's desire to destroy in connection with her desire to be destroyed, and he denounced the "heroism of cowards" such as her husband. To Roth, this society, which considered dum dum ammunition as cruel but gladly forgave hand grenades, was still operating under the logic of war. His 1924 novel, *The Rebellion*, an account of the demise of war neurotic Andreas Pum, contains many details and themes that Döblin later alluded to in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*—e.g., he named the criminal gang after Pum and reworked Pum's visions before death into Biberkopf's near-death experience. Roth, 952.

54. According to Döblin's biographer Louis Huguet, Döblin was invited to observe the trial by one of the lawyers, Dr. Lamm. A preserved part of a letter from Lamm to Döblin suggests that he was asked to give an expert statement on Nebbe's condition in regard to an upcoming transfer. Döblin used the back of this letter as one of his manuscript pages for *Berge Meere und Giganten*, which he completed in August 1923. Alfred Döblin, "Berge Meere und Giganten," Manuscript, DLA. Döblin's notes and patient books contain evidence that he was also acquainted with the two doctors who had seen Elli Klein and her husband as patients, and who were called to the trial as expert witnesses. Both had offices within walking distance of Döblin's office: Dr. Schübel at Frankfurter Allee 201, and Dr. Schmidt at Frankfurter Allee 222. A letter among Döblin's medical notes, written by Scherff (likely a colleague), mentions Schübel as early as 1914. Schmidt is mentioned as the recommending doctor on a patient's record from the midtwenties. At some point the public was excluded from the trial, but the fact that Döblin's papers contain the state attorney's indictment and notes on the trial suggests that he could have been allowed to stay because of his "scientific interests." His notes contain details that were not reported by the major newspapers, which supports the assumption that he witnessed the trial in person. See also Meinik, 468. Most important, in his unpublished notes for the epilogue of

the book Döblin describes how he spoke to Klein and Nebbe and other people involved in the case, and how he researched their living conditions: Alfred Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen und Ihr Giftmord*, Manuscript, DLA.

55. The boundaries between the fictional characters Elli Link, Grete Bende, and Elli's husband, Link, and the historical figures Elli Klein, Grete Nebbe, and Klein, are blurry in the account. Döblin mistakenly uses one of the original names, Klein, on page 101.

56. See my dissertation, "Alfred Döblin and the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute," and my article on Hirschfeld and Döblin in *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld Gesellschaft*.

57. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 7.

58. Ibid., 113.

59. Ibid., 117.

60. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Götzen-Dämmerung*, Kritische Studienausgabe no. 6 (Munich: dtv, 1988), 92.

61. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 114.

62. The fact that Elli quits her job as a hair dresser the minute she gets married shows that the protagonists are operating within a petit-bourgeois model of family life, with a stay-at-home mother and a working father.

63. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 22.

64. Alfred Döblin, "Neue Jugend," in *Schriften zu Politik und Gesellschaft* (Olten: Walter Verlag, 1972), 209.

65. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 22, 92, 24.

66. Ibid., 16, 41, 20, 47.

67. Ibid., 14, 48.

68. Ibid., 79.

69. Ibid., 85.

70. Ibid., 104.

71. Ibid., 104–105.

72. Ibid., 109.

73. The notes probably originate from the time between 1919 and 1922. Alfred Döblin, "Civilisation und Kultur," Manuscript, DLA. Döblin's analysis parallels Heinrich Mann's literary characterization of the protofascist Prussian male in his 1918 novel, *The Loyal Subject*, parts of which were published before World War I. In their landmark studies on masculinity, George Mosse and Klaus Theweleit both extensively analyze how national ideology, militarism, and stereotypes of masculinity conditioned one another in ritual and representations before 1933. David Blackbourn describes chauvinism, self-pity, and anxiety as components of a mind-set in which the nation became a "manly cause," and military culture informed daily life beyond imperial Germany (e.g., not only soldiers wore uniforms, but also postal workers and railway men). See George Mosse, *The Image of Man* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780–1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 368, 379, 427.

74. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 17, 13.

75. Ibid., 70.

76. Döblin, "Wissen und Verändern," 227. See also Alfred Döblin, *Schriften zur Politik und Gesellschaft* (Walter Verlag: Olten, 1972), especially "Katastrophe in einer Linkskurve," 247–253, and "Nochmal: Wissen und Verändern," 266–291.

77. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 46.

78. Simmel, *Psychoanalyse*, 207, 226.

79. Simmel, "Die psychoanalytische Behandlung in der Klinik," in *Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen*, 84.

80. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 114.

81. Meyer, 238.

82. Draft for "Soll man die Psychoanalyse verbieten," Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA.

83. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 208, 354. This and the following translations, which are mine, come directly from the latest German edition, rather than the available English translation. While Eugene Jolas's 1931 translation has its merits, it now feels dated.

84. Ibid., 349.

85. Ibid., 336.

86. See also the scene in which Biberkopf sings war songs. Ibid., 18.

87. Ibid., 334.

88. Ibid., 292.

89. Ibid., 348.

90. Ibid., 142.

91. See also the passage on sexual dysfunction in *ibid.*, 34.

92. Ibid., 427.

93. Döblin, "Arzt und Dichter," 26, 27.

94. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 427.

95. Ibid., 428. The generational conflict is brought to a head in the passage where the reader gets a glimpse into the thoughts of the assistant doctors, who feel that such a calcified brain as that of the head physician can't take in new insights, and the head physician, who fumes about these "greenhorns."

96. As Stauffacher remarks in his invaluable annotations to the most recent German edition of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, Ludwig Klages, whom Döblin had contacted in regard to his graphological analysis in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, participated in this congress. Ernst Simmel also attended the congress, performing what he termed his "psychoanalytic missionary work" in psychotherapeutic circles (he also extended this type of "missionary work" to courts, prisons, and large psychiatric clinics). Ibid., 549. Simmel, *Psychoanalyse*, 15.

97. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 425.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 428.

100. Ibid., 429.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., 434.

103. Ibid., 454.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. In this context, it is not surprising that, in retrospect, Döblin himself conceived of his writing as a form of war against National Socialism. When visiting the sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld in Paris in September 1934, Döblin signed his guest book with the final line of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*. In Döblin's exile from fascism, Biberkopf's awakening became a moment of hope and of resistance. As in *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder*, Hirschfeld appeared in *Berlin Alexanderplatz*—he is briefly referenced as the inventor of a “Sexualtherapeutikum” in the context of Biberkopf's initial impotence, which is described as a part of his neurotic pathology that he only resolves in the warlike sexual assault on Minna.

107. At this time, Döblin was part of the circle around Herwarth Walden and his literary journal, *Der Sturm*, which came to define the expressionist movement. His critique of literary psychology is directed against “the former idols of the bourgeoisie, Gerhart Hauptmann and his unreal fairy tale fancies . . . [and] the classicist spasms of Stefan George.” His deep aversion to bourgeois high literature, which he perceived as purely aesthetic, the “art-art” as he called it, led him to publicly criticize Thomas Mann's writing in later years. Meyer, 413. More recently, Peter Jelavich has convincingly connected Döblin's trajectory from his call for a *Kinostil* in the *Berliner Programm* to “the bricolage aesthetic” of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* to a discussion of the political and historical implications of the various media Döblin experimented with. However, he describes *Two Girlfriends Commit Murder* as still indebted to Hoche's psychiatry, and Döblin's desire to transcend literary psychology as a rejection of a variety of scientific psychological models. Jelavich, 16.

108. Döblin, “Zur perniziös verlaufenden Melancholie,” 362 and 364.

109. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 112.

110. Ibid., 113, 116.

111. Bill of Indictment Klein-Nebbe, Ts., Alfred Döblin Papers, DLA, Letter 121, 26. Succeeding references are abbreviated as “Indictment.”

112. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 63.

113. Ibid., 61.

114. Indictment, 26.

115. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 63.

116. Indictment, Letter 126, 27.

117. Indictment, Letter 127, 27.

118. Indictment, 4.

119. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 63.

120. Indictment, Letter 130, 27.

121. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 63.

122. Indictment, 15. He combines it with a quotation from another letter to once again create one single letter.

123. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 56.

124. Ibid., 51.

125. Ibid., 46.

126. The defendants argued that they were referring to alcohol poisoning as a possible consequence of Klein's heavy drinking. The state attorney did not accept this line of defense. Indictment, 22 and 23.

127. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 60.

128. *Ibid.*, 48.

129. Freud, "Die Frage der Laienanalyse," in *Gesammelte Werke*, 14:222.

130. Döblin contacted Mauthner as early as 1903, sending him his manuscript "Words and Accidents." In 1922 Mauthner dedicated his "great dictionary" to Döblin. In a letter of September 1922, Döblin described an intellectual familiarity and cited their common interest in the Buddha, but also cited their differences in regard to their psychological conceptions—for Döblin, the nonorganic also had a soul, as he conceded apologetically. Döblin, *Briefe*, 122.

131. Mauthner, *Die Sprache*, 85.

132. *Ibid.*, 82.

133. *Ibid.*, 102–103.

134. Döblin, *Die beiden Freundinnen*, 23.

135. *Ibid.*, 86.

136. Alfred Döblin, in his introduction to a book of Berlin photographs by Mario von Bucovich published in 1928. Mario von Bucovich, *Berlin* (Berlin: Albertus Verlag 1928), vii–xii. Cited in Sander, 98.

137. Döblin, "Epilog," 444, 445.

138. Alfred Döblin, "Altes Berlin," *Literarische Welt* 8, no. 29–30 (15 July 1932): 9.

139. Walter Benjamin, "Krisis des Romans," *Die Gesellschaft* (June 1930). See in English in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, Vol. 2 (1927–1934), ed. Michael Jennings et al. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999), 301.

140. Sander, 112.

141. Freud, "Die endliche und die unendliche Analyse," in *Gesammelte Werke*, 14:79.

142. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 11.

143. Döblin, "Psychoanalyse von heute."

144. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 421.

145. The earlier version containing the idea of two paths also parodies the idea of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* as a milieu novel and social critique ("finally a good social book by this author"). Sander, 131; Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 453.

146. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 12.

147. *Ibid.*, 11.

148. Scherpe, 162.

149. Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 39. Another representative moment of many is the scene, in which Reinhold throws Biberkopf out of the car. The excessive amount of passive constructions and the subtle continuous switches of perspective between victim and perpetrator complicate and confuse the action. *Ibid.*, 212.

150. *Ibid.*, 142.

151. *Ibid.*

## 2. WILD PSYCHOANALYSIS, RELIGION, AND RACE

1. Freud used the term *wild psychoanalysis* in a 1910 essay to establish what he considered theory and practice outside the bounds of the recently founded International Psychoanalytic Association. See Freud, 8:118–25. The General Medical Society for Psychotherapy, founded in 1926, which I mentioned in the previous chapter, came to serve as an alternative association for IPA analysts, “wild” analysts, or analysts from other psychoanalytic schools.

2. See Vitz.

3. Another prominent Berlin example of this overlap is the work of Wilhelm Reich. This overlap also characterized related fields, such as Magnus Hirschfeld’s sexual science.

4. Danzer, 40.

5. Will, 35.

6. Groddeck to Freud, May 27, 1917.

7. Interestingly, Freud uses the term *wild army* (*wildes Heer*) here to differentiate the psychoanalytic movement from the medical establishment, and not as he had previously done to separate the IPA analysts from other psychotherapeutic schools. This usage creates kinship between the “wild analyst” Groddeck and the “wild army” of IPA analysts, as both rebelled against disciplinary boundaries. While Freud tries to reassert the revolutionary potential of psychoanalysis at a time when it was becoming an institution, the term also evokes psychoanalysis as a practice relevant to the ongoing war. Freud to Groddeck, June 5, 1917.

8. Freud to Groddeck, May 9, 1920.

9. Will, 59.

10. Groddeck to Freud, October 17, 1920.

11. Groddeck spoke about visual sensory perception and the ways in which it is censored by the unconscious. Groddeck to Freud, September 11, 1920.

12. *Groddeck-Almanach*, 170–171.

13. Horney to Groddeck, July 12, 1923.

14. Will, 98.

15. Freud to Andreas-Salomé, October 7, 1917; Andreas-Salomé to Freud, October 10, 1917, October 15, 1917 and May 2, 1923. See also editor’s footnote on page 224 of the edited correspondence. After several years of illness, Rilke was diagnosed with leukemia shortly before his death in 1926. In 1917, Freud had alerted Lou Andreas-Salomé to Groddeck’s work on the psychoanalytic treatment of organic diseases. She remembered enjoying excerpts from *Toward Divine Nature* and saw an “honest and zealous investigator” in Groddeck, who would “not interfere with scientific zest.” However, she disliked the “Bedbug Man” (she meant *The Soul Searcher*).

16. Groddeck to Albert Langen, Groddeck Papers, DLA.

17. Groddeck, *Der Seelensucher*, 215–216.

18. Pfister to Freud, March 14, 1921.

19. Jones, 3:78, and Circulars of Freud’s Secret Committee.

20. Sachs to Groddeck, October 12, 1917, Groddeck Papers, DLA. Martynkewicz, 272–273.

21. Ferenczi, 356–359.

22. On Bruno Veneziani, see May, 590–625. Geoffrey Cocks connects “The Two Analyses of Mr. Z.,” Kohut’s autobiographical case study that became a seminal text for self-psychology, to Svevo’s Zeno. See Heinz Kohut, *The Curve of Life*, ed. Geoffrey Cocks (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

23. Jägersberg, “Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Seelensucher”; Groddeck, *Der Seelensucher*, 275.

24. See Polgar. Also in *Berliner Tageblatt*, December 20, 1920.

25. Groddeck to Freud, December 31, 1920.

26. The publication history of and materials related to the *Book of the It* have been made fully available in the excellent critical edition by Samuel Müller, with Wolfram Groddeck. Groddeck, *Manuskription und Materialien zu Buch vom Es. Groddeck Werk*.

27. A few months after the book’s publication, Horney wrote that she was inspired to work on motherly rejection of the child after witnessing an abortion in clinical practice. Horney to Groddeck, July 12, 1923.

28. Groddeck, *The Book of the It*, 134.

29. Ibid. 147.

30. Freud playfully critiqued Troll’s friend for withdrawing her letters. The one thing that Troll explicitly adds to Freud’s case of the Rat Man is an association chain of New Testament imagery with Saint John standing for the male member. Troll also likens the Jew Freud to the Jew Christ, both revealing a path to love. As I argue later in this chapter, Groddeck challenges and revises Freud by means of Christian iconography.

31. Groddeck, *The Book of the It*, 26.

32. Sachs, “Georg Groddeck: Das Buch vom Es,” 478.

33. Freud to Groddeck, Christmas 1922; and Freud to Groddeck, February 12, 1922.

34. Will, 68. See also Schröter, “Volle Kraft voraus,” for a comprehensive account of the 1922 congress.

35. Hattingberg to Weltlein, November 1, 1922. In Groddeck, *Mensch und Es*, 441–443.

36. Groddeck to Hattingberg, 1922.

37. Döblin, “Psychoanalyse von heute.”

38. Horney to Groddeck, July 12, 1923.

39. Meng emigrated to Switzerland in 1933 and was appointed as a professor in mental hygiene at Basel University four years later, where he remained well into the postwar years.

40. Meng to Groddeck, February 24, 1922.

41. Fromm-Reichmann to Groddeck, July 31, 1932.

42. While already in exile, Fromm remarked jokingly how jealous he was that his wife achieved more than he did, and that she got to see Groddeck while he was abroad. Fromm to Groddeck, 1932.

43. Meng, *Leben*, 70.

44. Meng, “Georg Groddeck,” 408–411.

45. Both Groddeck and Keyserling had rifts with Prinzhorn, which they discuss in their correspondence. Prinzhorn had an open fight with Keyserling at

the 1927 School of Wisdom conference over Ludwig Klages. And Klages asked Prinzhorn to write a critical review of Groddeck's 1928 talk at the third Congress of the General Medical Society for Psychotherapy attacking Groddeck's belief in the effectiveness of psychoanalysis in the treatment of organic diseases. See Wolfgang Geinitz, "Hans Prinzhorn und Georg Groddeck," in *Groddeck-Almanach*, ed. Helmut Siefert (Basel: Stroemfeld, 1986), 173–176.

46. Meng to Groddeck, March 8, 1923.

47. Gay, *Freud*, 466.

48. Martynkewicz, 313–314.

49. Meng, "Georg Groddeck," 408.

50. Ferenczi to Freud, April 18, 1925.

51. Gay, *Freud*, 490. See also Murray H. Sherman, "Theodor Reik and Lay Analysis," *Psychoanalytic Review* 75 (1988): 38. Subsequently, in early 1926, Reik was also sued for quackery by a former patient, the American doctor Newton Murphy. According to Ernest Jones and Reik himself, the case never came to trial, but Sherman dates the trial to 1927 on the basis of a report in the *New York Times*. See also Robert S. Wallerstein, *Lay Analysis: Life Inside the Controversy* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Analytic Press, 1998), 8.

52. Gertrud Holz on Groddeck for *Badische Landeszeitung* 1927. Typescript, Groddeck Papers, DLA. Michael Schröter describes several phases in regard to the lay analysis issue. While Abraham strongly opposed lay analysis, Eitingon did not want to include this issue in the guidelines. After Abraham's death in 1926, the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute experienced a period of liberalization, according to Schröter. See Schröter, "Max Eitingon and the Struggle to Establish an International Standard for Psychoanalytic Training" and "Zur Frühgeschichte der Laienanalyse." Christiane Ludwig-Körner points out the special significance of lay analysis for female psychoanalysts, who often had a background in education or social work. Ludwig-Körner, 14.

53. *Groddeck-Almanach*, 151–158.

54. Martynkewicz, 309.

55. Abraham to Freud, September 8, 1925.

56. Meng writes that shortly thereafter, his "beloved id" led him to break five ribs in an accident. Meng to Groddeck, November 25, 1925.

57. Groddeck to Horney, February 16, 1926.

58. Ferenczi to Freud, August 23, 1925.

59. Horney to Groddeck, 1926.

60. Groddeck, *Psychoanalytische Schriften zur Psychosomatik*, 150.

61. *Ibid.*, 156–158.

62. The following account is based on Müller's letters to Groddeck in the Groddeck Papers at the DLA and on the introduction to her 1927 book *Körper, Seele und Geist im All: Psychoanalytische Betrachtungen*. While other records of Müller's trajectory, treatment method, and her time in Berlin could not (at least thus far) be located, her account serves to provide a personal perspective of an outsider to the German psychoanalytic establishment.

63. Mueller, *Körper, Seele und Geist im All*, 31–38, 55–64.

64. Müller to Groddeck, December 22, 1925.

65. Müller to Groddeck, January 31, 1926.



66. See Martin Schulman, "The Question of Lay Analysis Reconsidered," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 23, no. 4 (2006): 701–710.
67. Müller, *Körper, Seele und Geist im All*, 63.
68. *Ibid.*, 115.
69. The quote is from Keyserling's *Travel Diary* (*Das Reisetagebuch eines Philosophen*). Müller, *Körper, Seele und Geist im All*, 122.
70. From Groddeck's *Ark* 19, no. 20 (1927).
71. Freud to Ferenczi, December 1, 1925.
72. Freud to Ferenczi, October 23, 1926.
73. Giefer, 75–76.
74. Freud to Groddeck, June 5, 1917.
75. Groddeck to Freud, May 27, 1917.
76. Freud to Groddeck, June 5, 1917.
77. Freud, vol. 2–3:403; 12:243–245.
78. Groddeck, "Symptomanalyse."
79. Groddeck to Freud, April 27, 1920.
80. *Arche* 14 (October 22, 1926): 6–7.
81. Danzer, 65.
82. Freud to Ferenczi, March 30, 1922. *Over to God's Nature*, the English translation of the book title *Hin zur Gottnatur* that is found in some of the literature on Groddeck, seems awkward. *Toward Divine Nature* captures the meaning more accurately.
83. Freud to Ferenczi, August 14, 1925.
84. Keyserling, *Reise*, 300; italics in the original.
85. Keyserling to Groddeck, June 4, 1924.
86. Truth, 38.
87. Keyserling, *Reise*, 300.
88. Keyserling to Groddeck, June 16, 1924.
89. See Pessoa, 319–320.
90. Kessler, "Graf Hermann Keyserlings politische Ideen."
91. Stefan Zweig, 49. In a pun on Keyserling's journal *Der Leuchter* (The Light), Kurt Tucholsky accused the *Darmstädter Armleuchter* (the idiot from Darmstadt) of "megalomania" and "ignorance." In another article, Tucholsky imagined the sudden death of his alter ego, Peter Panter, after listening to a Keyserling lecture. Tucholsky, 901.
92. The rhyme was first applied to the writer Eduard Count Keyserling by the philologist Friedrich Gundolf, and subsequently picked up by Emil Preetorius and Kurt Tucholsky, among others.
93. Martynkewicz, 307.
94. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 3, 21, 20, 72, 95.
95. *Ibid.*, 44.
96. *Ibid.*, 298. See also Plessner.
97. Klabund, 140.
98. Keyserling to Groddeck, September 1, 1924. Jones, 3:114.
99. Hermann Graf Keyserling, "Psychoanalyse und Selbstvervollkommenung" and "Heilkunst und Tiefenschau," in *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Palme, 1981), 198–219 and 268–300.

100. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 269.
101. *Ibid.*, 285.
102. *Ibid.*, 294.
103. Groddeck to Keyserling, January 25, 1925.
104. Reik, "Graf Hermann Keyserling."
105. Ferenczi to Freud, February 14, 1924. Theodor Reik, as previously mentioned, was not an admirer of Keyserling's work, and described one of these visits as an example of Freud's direct manner of critique. When, according to Reik, Keyserling seemed to talk about psychoanalysis "rather superficially," Freud told the count respectfully but bluntly that he didn't understand a thing about it. Reik, *Dreißig Jahre mit Sigmund Freud*, 40.
106. Keyserling to Groddeck, May 18, 1925.
107. Gahlings, 269.
108. Groddeck to Keyserling, November 13, 1925.
109. Groddeck, *Hin zur Gottnatur*, 11.
110. Groddeck, *Schicksal und Zwang*, 249.
111. *Ibid.*, 250.
112. Rudnytsky, 195.
113. Jung, *Gesammelte Werke*, 10:197, and *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 47.
114. This pun plays on two meanings of the word *mutig*: "resembling" and "daring." Groddeck to Keyserling, September 10, 1928.
115. Keyserling, *Reise*, 281, 275.
116. *Ibid.*, 283–284.
117. Keyserling, *Menschen als Sinnbilder*, 233.
118. Keyserling to Groddeck, August 6, 1924.
119. Groddeck to Keyserling, August 28, 1924.
120. Keyserling to Groddeck, September 1, 1924.
121. Schmitz to Keyserling, November 10, 1922.
122. Groddeck to Keyserling, September 10, 1928. In contrast to Groddeck, Jung expresses more skepticism about Schmitz in his letters by describing him as a bumptious worrier, or as easily impressed by intellectual trickery. Jung to Keyserling, January 2, 1928, and Jung to Keyserling, February 21, 1929.
123. Groddeck to Keyserling, September 10, 1928.
124. Schmitz to Keyserling, November 4, 1925.
125. Keyserling to Schmitz, July 7, 1924, and Keyserling to Schmitz, July 6, 1924.
126. Groddeck to Keyserling, July 11, 1924.
127. *Ibid.*
128. Keyserling to Groddeck, July 7, July 16, and July 24, 1924.
129. Groddeck to Keyserling, July 11, 1924.
130. Groddeck to Keyserling, September 10, 1928.
131. *Ibid.*
132. Keyserling to Jung, August 20, 1928.
133. Jung to Keyserling, January 2, 1928.
134. Jung to Keyserling, August 25, 1928, and May 10, 1932.
135. Keyserling to Groddeck, Sunday of Pentecost 1932.

136. Rubins, 67.
137. Groddeck to Horney, February 16, 1926.
138. Martynkewicz, 161.
139. This talk overlaps with parts in *Toward Divine Nature* and other early writings and lectures of Groddeck. See also Martynkewicz, 217–218. Groddeck, *Die Frau und die Volkszukunft*.
140. Martynkewicz, 216.
141. Groddeck, *Hin zur Gottnatur*, 140.
142. Dohm, “Ein Erlöser von der Frauenemanzipation,” 434.
143. Martynkewicz, 209–211.
144. Lewinter, 37–44.
145. Groddeck, *Psychoanalytische Schriften zur Psychosomatik*, 256–263.
146. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 117.
147. *Ibid.*, 122–127.
148. Gahlings, 236.
149. Schmitz to Keyserling, January 28, 1926.
150. Keyserling to Schmitz, February 7, 1926.
151. Hugo Bettauer, “The Erotic Revolution,” in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 698–700.
152. Lola Landau, “The Companionate Marriage,” in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 702–703.
153. Stöcker was a connecting figure between the women’s movement, sexology, and psychoanalysis. She was also on the executive committee of the *Gesellschaft der Freunde des neuen Rußland* (Society of Friends of the New Russia), of which Döblin was a member. Helene Stöcker, “Marriage as a Psychological Problem,” *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 705. See also Wickert.
154. *Die Frau von Morgen*, 101.
155. *Ibid.*, 141.
156. *Ibid.*, 23.
157. “Das richtig gestellte Eheproblem,” 13–47, and “Von der richtigen Gattenwahl,” 235–259, in *Das Ehe-Buch*, ed. Hermann Graf Keyserling (Celle: Niels Kampmann Verlag, 1925).
158. Groddeck, “An Frau X über Eheprobleme”.
159. Karen Horney, “Roots of Conflict in Marriage,” in *The Unknown Karen Horney*, ed. Bernard Paris (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 64.
160. Karen Horney, “Problems of Marriage,” in *Feminine Psychology* (Norton: New York, 1993), 120.
161. Döblin [Linke Poot], “Über die Liebe.”
162. Döblin, “Psychoanalyse von heute.”
163. Horney to Groddeck, July 12, 1923.
164. Weiss to Groddeck, April 25, 1921.
165. See the Circulars of Freud’s Secret Committee.
166. Eitingon.

167. Brandt.

168. Keyserling to Jung, July 22, 1930.

169. Groddeck to Keyserling, December 13, 1932.

170. Martynkewicz, 343.

171. Ibid. 348.

172. Groddeck to Boehm, April 12, 1933.

173. It is unclear if and how Groddeck intervened in another matter. In November 1933, the Danish Psychoanalytic Society, which included Georg Gerö from Berlin, sought Groddeck's help in establishing the credentials of his former analysand Oluf Brüel. According to the letter, Brüel was scheming against the leading training analyst of the society, the exiled Wilhelm Reich, and attempting to develop a specifically Nordic brand of psychotherapy. Dansk Psykoanalytisk Forening to Groddeck, November 4, 1933. Groddeck Papers, DLA. At that point Reich was under investigation by the Danish national health authorities, and his right to stay was revoked; Reich left for Sweden in December 1933. Reimer Jensen and Henning Paikin, "On Psychoanalysis in Denmark," *Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* 3 (1980): 103–116.

174. Martynkewicz, 350; Grossman and Grossman, 196. As previously mentioned, there are diverging accounts as to whether Groddeck was more fascinated or more concerned with Hitler and how his letter should be interpreted. While there are many reasons to believe that Groddeck disagreed with National Socialism on crucial tenets—that is, the persecution of Jews—his early anti-Semitism and his racialized critique of Freudian psychoanalysis make it likely that he also agreed with parts of the ideology. Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's version of events, which informed the biography of the Grossmans, interprets Groddeck's fascination for Hitler as an expression of his declining mental health. For friends and colleagues like Fromm-Reichmann, there was understandably no possibility at this point to admit these ideological contradictions into what would become public knowledge about Groddeck. Jägersberg relates that Groddeck's relatives held back the letters to Hitler. Jägersberg, *Dr. Georg Groddeck in Baden-Baden*, 12.

175. "Korrespondenzblatt," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* 20 (1934): 415.

176. Keyserling, *Reise*, 416–417.

177. Gahlings, 236.

178. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 651.

179. Ibid., 717.

180. See Benn, 24, 26, 27, 32.

181. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 657.

182. Ibid., 674.

183. Ibid., 651.

184. Gahlings, 239.

185. Ibid., 249.

186. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 685.

187. Keyserling, *Das Buch vom persönlichen Leben*, 206, 212, 626.

188. Gahlings, 257.

189. Ibid., 262, 279.

190. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 708.

191. *Ibid.*, 866.

192. On the occasion of a 2006 conference on the LSD inventor Albert Hofmann, the publisher Klett commented on the friendship between Hofmann, Walter Frederking, and the writer Ernst Jünger, and on their drug-induced “travels into the orbit of the soul.” See [www.thieme-connect.com/ejournals/html/psychiat-praxis/doi/10.1055/s-2006-941627](http://www.thieme-connect.com/ejournals/html/psychiat-praxis/doi/10.1055/s-2006-941627), accessed April 14, 2007. Dagmar Herzog briefly discusses Frederking’s writings on a weakened German postwar masculinity (86). See also Walter Frederking, “Intoxicant Drugs (Mescaline and Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) in Psychotherapy,” *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 121 (1953): 262–266.

193. Keyserling, *Das Erbe der Schule der Weisheit*, 899.

194. *Ibid.*, 958.

195. Jung, “Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie,” in *Gesammelte Werke* 10:181–199. In regard to Jung’s involvement with National Socialism, see Regine Lockot’s work. The emigrated psychoanalyst Anna Maria Jokl, who treated Beatrice Zweig, Arnold Zweig’s wife, after World War II, reported on her training with Jung in Zürich and her personal experience of Jung’s anti-Semitism. Anna Maria Jokl, “Round Peg in a Square Hole” (1987), Alexander Mette Papers, BK.

196. Jung had written this review for the newspaper *Basler Nachrichten* on May 13, 1934. Jung, “Ein neues Buch von Keyserling,” 10:539–545. Jung had also written earlier, more benevolent reviews of *Spektrum Europas* and *Amerika der Aufgang der Welt*. Jung, “Die Bedeutung der schweizerischen Linie im Spektrum Europas,” 10:519–530; Jung, “Der Aufgang einer neuen Welt,” 10:531–537.

197. Jung to Keyserling, December 10, 1945.

198. Will, 184. Bachmann’s short story “Ihr glücklichen Augen” is dedicated to Groddeck. In it, the extremely nearsighted Miranda chooses what she wants to see, and Bachmann plays with different types of conscious and unconscious sensory knowledge, visual, tactile, and intuitive.

199. Biancoli, 122.

### 3. THE BERLIN PSYCHOANALYTIC IN PALESTINE

1. Plessner, “Die Legende von den zwanziger Jahren.” 33–46.

2. Dührssen claimed that Freud and his Jewish followers sought to reestablish a special group character, which was reminiscent of Jewish life in the diaspora. See also Friedrich-Wilhelm Eickhoff, “The Formation of the German Psychoanalytical Association (DPV),” *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 76 (1995): 945–956.

3. For a more extensive discussion of the secondary literature about the Göring Institute, see Geoffrey Cocks, “The Devil and the Details: Psychoanalysis in the Third Reich,” *Psychoanalytic Review* 88 (2001): 225–244.

4. Geoffrey Cocks, review of “Psychoanalysis and the Third Reich,” ed. Zvi Lothane, special issue 2–3, *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* 12 (2003),

in *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* 14 (2005): 47. Cocks reviewed this special issue, edited by Zvi Lothane, in a later issue of the same journal.

5. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 272.

6. Ibid., 29–30. See also the documentation of the *Aktion* campaign and the Gross case in Thomas Anz and Christina Jung, eds., *Der Fall Otto Gross* (Marburg: Verlag LiteraturWissenschaft.de, 2002).

7. See Werner Bergmann, *Geschichte des Antisemitismus* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 67.

8. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 44–47.

9. Ibid., 47.

10. Zweig to Freud, September 16, 1930.

11. Zweig to Eitingon, April 15, 1936.

12. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 67; Bodenheimer, 99.

13. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 100.

14. Zweig to Freud, September 8, 1930.

15. Freud to Zweig, September 10, 1930.

16. Simmel, *Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen*, 25–27. See also Anton Kaes's discussion of Simmel in connection with the restaging of the trauma of World War I in films such as *The Cabinet of Caligari*. See Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema*, 51–54.

17. See Bronfen, Gast, Marinelli, Ries, and Eppensteiner and Sierck.

18. Interview notes, Martin Grotjahn interviewed by Sanford Gifford, August 18, 1982, Boston Psychoanalytic Institute Archives.

19. Simmel, "Die Psychoanalyse im Film," 157.

20. Midgley, 110–123.

21. Eran J. Rolnik, "'... wo sich die Intellektuellen gegenseitig im Wege stehen.' Albert Einstein, Max Eitingon, Anna Freud und die Migration der deutschsprachigen Psychoanalyse nach Palästina," *Luzifer-Amor* 42 (2008): 90–91.

22. This account is largely based on the correspondence between Freud and Eitingon in an edition by Michael Schröter (see Freud–Eitingon), who also provides a meticulously researched introduction and commentary. I also used Eitingon's pocket calendar of 1933 contained in the Zweig papers as another source where dates are concerned. The motivations of Boehm and Müller-Braunschweig, as well as Freud's role, in the process of *Gleichschaltung* of German psychoanalysis are still controversial. Regine Locket's pathbreaking dissertation and an exhibit at the 1985 International Psychoanalytic Association congress in Hamburg set the historical groundwork for the discussion of these events in Germany. See especially Brecht, Cocks, Goggin and Goggin, Locket, Thomas Müller, and Rickels.

23. Brecht, 64.

24. Grotjahn, 36.

25. In 1997, Karl Fallend and Bernd Nitzschke presented new material on the ruthless marginalization and exclusion of Wilhelm Reich from the German Psychoanalytic Society in 1933 and the IPA in 1934, which led to much discussion and a reevaluation of these events. Nitzschke argued that the agenda to

define psychoanalysis as separate from politics occurred before 1933, and that Freud and other Jewish analysts participated in the marginalization of leftist psychoanalysts before they themselves were marginalized on the basis of the same arguments. See Karl Fallend and Bernd Nitzschke, eds., *Der 'Fall' Wilhelm Reich* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997). For further discussion of this volume, see Zvi Lothane, "The Deal With the Devil to 'Save' Psychoanalysis in Nazi Germany," *Psychoanalytic Review* 88 (2001): 195–224.

26. Locket, 44. See Brecht, 99–109, for Boehm's own account of the meeting and transition. Jones's role in this episode has been judged controversial. Most recently, Brenda Maddox has described Jones's behavior as an expression of the desire to keep politics out of psychoanalysis and as an attempt at "appeasement" that, in hindsight, may have been misguided. She also outlines Jones's efforts to support emigrating psychoanalysts or their families, such as Abraham's widow and daughter. Maddox, 215–225.

27. Dräger, 44.

28. For a comprehensive discussion of the politics of Edith Jacobson's psychoanalytic writings up to 1937, which, according to scholar Ulrike May, contained coded leftist political language, see the special issue on Edith Jacobson, *Luzifer-Amor* 35 (2005).

29. Brecht, 80, 170.

30. *Ibid.*, 113.

31. In the process, some of the media strategies and aesthetic techniques of the Berlin Psychoanalytic would be resumed. Kurt Gauger, a National Socialist and member of the Göring Institute, for example, served as an advisor on the feature film *Die Ewige Maske* (1935), which in its depiction of a nervous breakdown could be read as an important counterpoint to G.W. Pabst's *Secrets of a Soul*. See Malte Ewers, *Die Reichsanstalt für Film und Bild in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (Hamburg: Kovac, 1998).

32. Brecht, 164. See also Rickels, 1:21–25. Rickels describes "psychological warfare" as the "number one promotional."

33. For a prehistory of psychoanalysis in Palestine and an overview, see Eran J. Rolnik, "Between Ideology and Identity: Psychoanalysis in Jewish Palestine," *Psychoanalysis and History* 4, no. 2 (2002): 203–224.

34. Schröter; Freud-Eitingon correspondence, 982.

35. Schalit; Klooke, 95.

36. Karl Schlögel, *Das Russische Berlin* (Munich: Pantheon, 2007), 307.

37. Wolf, 141.

38. Several Berlin sexologists also emigrated to Palestine—for example, Felix Theilhaber, Max Marcuse, and for a brief period, Max Hodann. It is likely that the collaboration between psychoanalysis and sexology continued away from Berlin, at least in the first years of exile. See Joachim Schlör, "'Wenn ich eines richtig gemacht habe . . .?' Berliner Sexualwissenschaftler in Palästina/Israel," *Exilforschung* 16 (1998): 229–252.

39. Schlör, *Endlich im Gelobten Land?* 50, 54.

40. Laqueur, *Generation Exodus*, 99.

41. For the following account, see Stiftung Jüdisches Museum, 99.

42. Nicosia, 100.
43. Alfred Bodenheimer, *Die Auferlegte Heimat* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 83.
44. Zweig to Eitingon, January 1, 1937.
45. Hermand, 66.
46. Gad Granach, *Heimat los!* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer TB, 2000), 114–115.
47. See Katharina Hoba and Joachim Schlör, “Die Jeckes—Emigration nach Palästina, Einwanderung ins Land Israel,” in Stiftung Jüdisches Museum, ed., *Heimat und Exil*, 103.
48. Zweig to Eitingon, September 19, 1940; Eitingon to Zweig, September 24, 1940; Eitingon to Zweig, November 11, 1940.
49. Eitingon to Zweig, February 13, 1941.
50. Eitingon to Zweig, April 10, 1943.
51. Such as one young man who kept showing up at all times, even late at night, and wouldn’t calm down or go away. Eitingon to Zweig, February 9, 1940.
52. Zweig to Eitingon, March 16, 1942.
53. Notebook 1943, Arnold Zweig papers, AdK.
54. Zweig to Freud, February 1, 1937.
55. Zweig to Eitingon, January 12, 1936.
56. Zweig to Eitingon, February 15, 1941.
57. Zweig to Eitingon, September 5 and 19, 1940. His son recalls the events differently and describes the support of his father, who seemed convinced that learning a true “profession” was a good step. Grünspar encouraged Zweig to finish school in order to study medicine. Adam Zweig, Interview by the author, Zurich, July 7, 2005.
58. Zweig to Freud, April 25, 1934.
59. Zweig to Eitingon, January 8, 1937; Zweig to Freud, June 18, 1938; Zweig to Eitingon, January 10, 1940.
60. Zweig to Eitingon, July 30, 1940.
61. Zweig to Eitingon, November 12, 1940; Zweig to Eitingon, December 9, 1940.
62. Zweig to Eitingon, January 6, 1941.
63. Eitingon to Zweig, June 24, 1940.
64. Zweig’s friendship with Freud might have been a factor in integrating him into the activities of the PPA despite his status as a patient.
65. Eitingon to Zweig, December 18, 1937; Eitingon to Zweig, October 19, 1939; Zweig to Eitingon, December 9, 1940.
66. Circulars (Fenichel), 445, 489.
67. Zweig to Eitingon, February 25, 1943; see also Zweig, Max Eitingon, 10. Zweig sent Eitingon the book *The Decline of Jewry* (Der Untergang des Judentums), in which the Jewish communist Otto Heller argued that the Jewish nation turned into an “international cast.” Since this cast could not be assimilated, Heller predicted tensions between Jews and non-Jews. Eitingon returned the book without a comment. Zweig to Eitingon, January 14, 1943.
68. Zweig, Agenda 1927–34, July 8, 1934.
69. Zweig, Agenda 1927–34, July 14, 1934.



70. Zweig, Agenda 1927–34, July 12, 1934.

71. The conflict around language that tainted Zweig's experience in Palestine already had a history. For example, an earlier push to change the language of instruction at the Technion, an architecture and engineering college (which Adam Zweig later attended), to German, met some resistance even among German émigrés. Schlör, 33.

72. Zweig to Eitingon, June 25, 1936.

73. Zweig to Eitingon, January 14, 1943, and April 15, 1943.

74. Eitingon to Zweig, January 6, 1937.

75. Eitingon to Freud, January 24, 1937.

76. Zweig, "Emigration und Neurose," Arnold Zweig papers, AdK. See also Bodenheimer.

77. Gilman, *Freud*, 53–56.

78. Zweig, *Bilanz der Judenheit*, 373.

79. *Ibid.*, 224.

80. *Ibid.*, 226–235.

81. Simmel's Los Angeles group was incorporated into the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Society in 1942 because, in the process of the integration of psychoanalysis into the medical establishment, the American Psychoanalytical Association attempted to gain control over the L.A. group's accreditation of lay analysts, including that of former Berlin analyst, Zionist, and pedagogue Siegfried Bernfeld. See Albert Kandelin, "California's First Psychoanalytic Society," Typescript, 1966, BK.

82. See Schievelbusch, *Intellektuellendämmerung*.

83. Otto Fenichel, "Elements of a Psychoanalytic Theory of Anti-Semitism," in Simmel, *Anti-Semitism*, 15.

84. See Noah Isenberg's edition of Arnold Zweig's *The Face of East European Jewry*.

85. The historian Anson Rabinbach analyzes Horkheimer's and Adorno's theoretical differences and agreements in regard to anti-Semitism in their work *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944), which postulated that the Jewish relationship to mimesis is at the base of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism conditions the Jewish desire to assimilate, which in turn conditions anti-Semitism; therefore, "persecutor and victim belong to the same circle of evil." In 1940, Adorno analyzed the "archaic motifs" in anti-Semitism, such as the "nomadic existence" of Jews and their "refusal to be civilized." And little later, Horkheimer moved away from a theory of anti-Semitism as an expression of capitalist mechanisms. Fenichel also follows this development, but places his emphasis on the analysis of a Jewish pathology, which is not just part of an anti-Semitic imagination. Rabinbach, 185–187.

86. Horkheimer, "Simmel, and Freudian Philosophy."

87. See Erikson. For a similar argument see A.L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944). Kroeber claimed that Germans kept assimilating foreign influences until they produced something national that in its greatness transcended nationality. See also Donald McGranahan and Morris Janowitz, "Studies of German Youth," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 41 (1946): 3–14.

88. Sidney Tacharow, "A Note on Anti-Semitism." *Psychiatry* 9, no. 2 (1946).
89. Freud to Zweig, September 30, 1934.
90. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 180.
91. The talk was published in a shortened version in *Die Neue Weltbühne* 34, no. 18 (1938): 563–565, and in *Freundschaft mit Freud*. I am quoting from the talk manuscript in Zweig's papers.
92. Freud to Eitingon, 853; Brecht, 101, 158.
93. In contrast to Freud, Eitingon saw more danger for the Berlin Institute in those "indifferent" analysts whose thinking was "subaltern," and who seemed to hurry unduly in the process of *Gleichschaltung* (alignment with National Socialist Policy) of the Berlin Institute. Eitingon to Freud, March 24, 1933.
94. This attack on Thomas Mann, who previously had written very favorably about Freud and psychoanalysis, is somewhat surprising, especially because at this point Mann had openly declared his association with the intellectual emigration. It is possible that Zweig was not yet aware of this—in the printed version of his mock report one year later, Mann's name is omitted.
95. In the scholarly Stratford-Oxford debate around Shakespeare's true identity, Freud had argued in favor of the authorship of the Earl of Oxford. Zweig's parodies were both well received. Eitingon liked the Goethe text. Eitingon to Zweig, April 23, 1937. Zweig had been worried about Freud's reaction, and while Freud answered with more reservation than usual, he claimed that both texts "amused" him.
96. C.G. Jung, "Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Psychotherapie," *Zentralblatt für Psychotherapie* 1–2 (1934): 1–16. Also in Jung, *Gesammelte Werke*, 10:181–199.
97. Circulars (Fenichel), 425.
98. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 171.
99. Zweig to Eitingon, October 17, 1941.
100. Zweig to Anna Freud, October 22, 1941.
101. Zweig to Eitingon, February 4, 1942.
102. Zweig to Eitingon, February 25, 1943.
103. Eitingon to Zweig, January 16, 1942. However, Eitingon had previously expressed reservations about Bullitt's reliability and tried to dissuade Zweig from contacting him. Eitingon to Zweig, December 14, 1941. Zweig integrated other texts of his into the exposé, namely, the essays "The Writer and the War" and "Freud's Afterglow."
104. Klooze, 105.
105. Marcuse, 60, 65, 76, 116.
106. Zweig, Pocket Diary, 1947, Zweig papers, AdK.
107. Adam Zweig, Interview by the author, Zurich, July 7, 2005.
108. Zweig, *Freundschaft mit Freud*, 221.
109. See Horn. In 1949, Beatrice Zweig, who had a mental breakdown after her return to Germany, was treated by the Jungian psychoanalyst Anna Maria Jokl. Jokl claims that Zweig, who commented on all of the family's analysts, omitted her because of her affiliation with Jungian psychoanalysis. However, at that point Jokl, who was of Jewish origin and who had experienced Jung's anti-Semitism in person, had distanced herself from the Zürich group. Adam Zweig

relates that Jokl's treatment was successful. Anna Maria Jokl, "Fünfunddreissig Jahre danach. Bemerkungen zu einigen Briefen in Lion Feuchtwanger—Arnold Zweig Briefwechsel 1933–1958," BK. Zweig labored for years over the completion of *Freundschaft mit Freud* (Friendship with Freud), which was not published until decades after his death, in 1996. However, in 1962 he did publish a novel with a protagonist modeled after Max Eitingon, titled *Der Traum ist teuer* (The Cost of Dreams).

#### 4. BERLIN DADA AND PSYCHOANALYSIS IN NEW YORK

1. Edith Kurzweil, "Psychoanalytic Science: From Oedipus to Culture," 356. See also Palmier, 183–184.

2. Sander Gilman, "Constructing the Image of the Appropriate Therapist: The Struggle of Psychiatry with Psychoanalysis," in *Freud in Exile*, ed. Edward Timm and Naomi Segal (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

3. Ash and Söllner, 117–138.

4. Horney to Huelsenbeck, March 10 and March 26, 1942.

5. There are different accounts of when exactly Huelsenbeck became reacquainted with Karen Horney, but the formal tone of Karen Horney's letters suggests that they did not have much contact before 1942. Strangely, Huelsenbeck himself doesn't mention his earlier Berlin encounter with Karen Horney in his 1969 autobiographical text "On Leaving America for Good," (in Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 184–189) in which he describes his collaboration with Horney. Nor does the Berlin encounter come up in "Von Dada zur Psychiatrie," a key biographical text in Huelsenbeck's papers. My account of the Berlin encounter is based on that of Hans J. Kleinschmidt, a fellow psychiatrist and friend of Huelsenbeck, who edited and introduced his *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, and on an account by Horney's biographer Jack Rubins, who interviewed Huelsenbeck.

6. The date of the name change is October 13, 1939, as listed in the probate papers. Richard Huelsenbeck Papers, DLA.

7. Richard Huelsenbeck, "Von Dada zur Psychiatrie," Typescript, 1965, Richard Huelsenbeck Papers, DLA.

8. Unfortunately there is so far no comprehensive critical Huelsenbeck biography. For further details see Richard Sheppard, ed., *Richard Huelsenbeck* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1982); Hildegard Feidel-Mertz, ed., *Der junge Huelsenbeck. Entwicklungsjahre eines Dadaisten* (Giessen: Anabas Verlag, 1992); Reinhard Nenzel, *Kleinkarierte Avantgarde* (Bonn: Reinhard Nenzel Verlag, 1994); and see Kapfer.

9. Huelsenbeck, "Von Dada zur Psychiatrie."

10. Lerner, 66–68.

11. Quinn, *A Mind of Her Own*, 145.

12. Uwe Henrik Peters relates that Huelsenbeck worked as a military doctor until early 1919 and then continued his studies in Berlin. Richard Sheppard describes this work as part of Huelsenbeck's medical training, and places him in Fürstenwalde until 1922. Peters has described Huelsenbeck's Danzig time in more detail, including the fact that Wallenberg, who came from an old rabbinical family, was forced to emigrate at the age of seventy-seven.

13. Wallenberg, "Anatomie, Physiologie und Pathologie des sensiblen Systems," 154.

14. Hans J. Kleinschmidt, introduction to *Memoirs of a Dada Drummer*, by Richard Huelsenbeck (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), xxv.

15. There are several pioneering accounts of Huelsenbeck's medical, psychiatric, and psychoanalytical career, but the exact dates are contradictory, and there are still some gaps (e.g., little remains known about the exact nature of Huelsenbeck's work in Danzig with Wallenberg, or his places of employment or private practice in Berlin). See Peters; Kleinschmidt; Sheppard; and most recently Thomas Kornbichler, *Flucht nach Amerika. Emigration der Psychotherapeuten. Erich Fromm, Wilhelm Reich und Richard Huelsenbeck* (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 2006).

16. Vera Strasser-Eppelbaum was an accomplished and prolific author. Among her publications are *On the Psychology of Alcoholism* (1914), *About the Character of Woman* (1918), *Accountability* (1921), *Psychology of Contexts and Relations* (1921), *The Nervous and Psychotic Sufferer of Relations Disorder* (1923), *Suggestion* (1927), and *Methods of Thought and Their Dangers* (1931). Huelsenbeck might have confused her in retrospect with the Berlin writer Nadja Strasser, who was a Zionist like Vera Strasser-Eppelbaum. Such confusion would be in line with the impression that his later account of Strasser's affect implicitly parodied her Jewishness. See also Reinhard Nenzel's interpretation of this encounter, which argues that Strasser made a point of focusing on Huelsenbeck's sexual life.

17. Among others, Hugo Ball and Emmy Ball-Henning are parodied in the novel, which describes the émigré scene as decadent and exploitative. Strasser also wrote many other books, among them works on anti-Semitism, psychiatry and criminality, abortion, and alcoholism; travel reports; and a novel about artificial insemination. See Strasser. See also Florian Gelzer's interpretation, which points out the connections between the novel and the psychoanalytic writings by both Strassers, and Daniel Heinrich's account of Charlot Strasser's psychoanalytic career and political interventions.

18. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 28.

19. For a concise introduction to the development of Horney's psychoanalytic thought, see Bernard Paris.

20. Rubins, 81. Rubins's account is corroborated in Kleinschmidt.

21. Peters doesn't provide any sources for this statement, and it's not clear how Behn-Eschenbach could have supervised Huelsenbeck's analysis in Berlin from Zurich. However, Behn-Eschenbach was also the analyst of the later existentialist psychoanalyst Medard Boss (1903–1990), and Behn-Eschenbach created a parallel series to the Rorschach test, which could explain the later rumor that Huelsenbeck had been analyzed by Rorschach himself.

22. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 116.

23. Ibid., 49. See also Burkhard Hoellen's analysis of Ball's writings as engagement with psychoanalytic theory.

24. See Mehring.

25. Firn, 35–41. In one of his aphorisms, Daimonides described dream analysis as "the morning rituals of the soul." Firn, 28.

26. See Sheppard, 272.

27. See Doherty.

28. Huelsenbeck, *Doctor Billig*, 120–122.

29. *Ibid.*, 64.

30. *Ibid.*, 50.

31. *Ibid.*, 90.

32. *Ibid.*, 99.

33. *Ibid.*, 90–91.

34. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, xxv.

35. Reich joined the staff of the BPI in 1930 and opened a psychoanalytic sexual counseling center in Charlottenburg with, among others, Edith Jacobson (whose 1935 arrest by the Gestapo is mentioned in the previous chapter). Reich was also part of a Berlin cell of the German communist party, which was led by the writer Arthur Koestler.

36. Brickman, 174.

37. Peters claims that Huelsenbeck was a paying member of the SS. Peters, 16–30.

38. Her oldest daughter, Brigitte Horney, stayed in Berlin and continued her career as a film actress in Nazi Germany, most notably in *Münchhausen* (1943).

39. See Marmor. See also Frosch.

40. Horney, “The Future of Psychoanalysis,” 66–67.

41. *Ibid.* Bernard Paris suggests that Fromm and Horney were lovers, and that personal issues played a role in this conflict.

42. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 186.

43. Atina Grossmann, “Provinzielle Kosmopoliten: Deutsche Juden in New York und Anderswo,” in Stiftung Jüdisches Museum, ed., *Heimat und Exil*, 222.

44. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 187.

45. Huelsenbeck’s lectures for the institute or the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis included “Creative Personality” (1943), “The Nature of Timidity” (1944), “Types of Thinking” and “Emotional Problems in Marriage” (1944–1945), “Cultural and Environmental Influences in Psycho-neurosis” (1944–1945), “Partnership in Marriage” (1945–1946), “Emotional Elements in Modern Art” (1946–1947), “Psychoanalysis after Fifty” (1946–1947), “Emotional Conflicts in Homosexuality” (1947–1948), “Thoughts on Creativity” (1952–1953), “Reflections on Psychoanalysis of Art and Artists” (1953–1954), “The Problem of Incompleteness in Personal Growth” and “A Psychoanalyst Looks at History” (1954–1955), “The Personality Problem in Psychoanalysis” (1955), “Psychoanalytical Comments on Some Existentialist Ideas” (1956), “Psychoanalytic Elements in Modern Art” (1957), and “Psychology of Lawlessness: A Psychoanalytical Comment on the Problem of Anomie” (1964–1965). Huelsenbeck also participated in a symposium in honor of what would have been Horney’s seventy-fifth birthday in 1961, appeared as an occasional paper discussant, and taught the seminars “Psychoanalysis and Art” and “Modern Art—an Effort toward Self-Expression” (1954–1955).

46. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 185–186.

47. See Bally.

48. Huelsenbeck, "Biography of Dr. Jung."
49. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "The Creative Personality."
50. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "Three Creative Phases in Psychoanalysis." Huelsenbeck's commentator, the psychoanalyst Thomas Hora, warns that Huelsenbeck's language might be jarring to people unused to existential philosophy. He proceeds to criticize Huelsenbeck's concept of self-interest and emphasizes the fundamental need for truth of being.
51. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "The Existential Mood in American Psychiatry."
52. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "The Irrational and the Nature of Basic Anxiety."
53. Ibid., 7.
54. Ibid., 9.
55. Zaretsky, 273–306.
56. Jacoby, 147–148.
57. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 185, 187.
58. Ibid., 187.
59. Ibid., 188.
60. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "Completeness—Incompleteness."
61. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 111.
62. Ibid.
63. See Kuenzli's introduction to Huelsenbeck's *Memoirs*, p. x.
64. Huelsenbeck uses the word *Persönlichkeit* (personality), which has been translated in this edition as "individuality." Huelsenbeck, *The Dada Almanac*, 9.
65. Mehring, 69.
66. Huelsenbeck, "Der Neue Mensch," 63–68.
67. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "Psychoanalytical Notes on Modern Art," 166.
68. Ibid., 173.
69. Huelsenbeck, "Self-Alienation," 179.
70. Huelsenbeck, *Memoirs*, 135.
71. Ibid., 85.
72. Huelsenbeck. "Von Dada zur Psychiatrie."
73. Ibid.
74. Huelsenbeck. "Bejahung der modernen Frau."
75. Huelsenbeck [Charles R. Hulbeck], "Emotional Conflicts in Homosexuality."
76. See Terry.
77. See Carlston, 188–189.
78. Judging from the terminology and the context of his discussion, the manuscript probably dates from the mid- to late forties. Huelsenbeck. "Beziehungen zwischen den Geschlechtern."
79. Ibid., 45.
80. Koebner, "*Bruder Hitler*."
81. Huelsenbeck, *Sexualität und Persönlichkeit*, 150–151.
82. Ibid., 141.

83. Ibid., 165.

84. Huelsenbeck [Charles Hulbeck], Charles Hulbeck to Walter Exner, June 20, 1959.

85. Esmann, "Huelsenbeck," 364.

86. Aaron H. Esmann, "Only a Ph.D.," *New York Review of Books* 7, no. 10, December 15, 1966.

## CONCLUSION

1. Micale, 2.

2. Toews, 531. See also John Toews, "Refashioning the Masculine Subject in Early Modernism," in Mark S. Micale, *The Mind of Modernism: Medicine, Psychology, and the Cultural Arts in Europe and America, 1880-1940* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 298-335.

3. On the cultural nexus of the Bloomsbury circle and psychoanalysis, see, among others, Meisel and Kendrick; Kurzweil, 308-309; Elisabeth Abel, *Virginia Woolf and the Fictions of Psychoanalysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Fuhito Endo's response to Abel, "Radical Violence Inside Out: Woolf, Klein, and Interwar Politics," *Twentieth Century Literature* 52, no. 2 (2006): 175-198; and B. Hinshelwood, "Virginia Woolf and Psychoanalysis," *International Review of Psycho-Analysis* 17 (1990): 367-371. For a comprehensive account of Melanie Klein's early clinical work in Berlin, which includes her treatment notes, see Claudia Frank, *Melanie Klein in Berlin* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

4. Besides the above-mentioned literature (especially Abel's book), see also Nicole Ward Jouve, "Virginia Woolf and Psychoanalysis," in *The Cambridge Companion to Virginia Woolf* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 245-272.

5. Kurt Tucholsky, "Psychoanalyse" (1925), in *Gesammelte Werke* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1985), 4:277-278. The idiosyncratic spacing is by Tucholsky.

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 Groddeck–Meng: Groddeck Papers, DLA.  
 Groddeck–Müller: Groddeck Papers, DLA.  
 Groddeck–Weiss: Groddeck Papers, DLA.  
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